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LIFE OF ALONZO AMES MINER.



A. A. Miner

L I F E

OF

ALONZO AMES MINER, S.T.D., LL.D.

BY

Homer
GEORGE H. EMERSON, D.D.
=

ILLUSTRATED.

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PREFACE.

THE life of Dr. Miner, as described in these pages, is commended, first of all, to believers in the Universalist interpretation of the Christian religion: it may revive for the older, precious memories; it is hoped that it will be instructive to the younger, and incite them to emulate the noble example which even an imperfect description could not wholly obscure.

The biography is commended to all who love their fellow men, and have hearts to feel for, and hands to help, their less fortunate brethren. Dr. Miner, intensely devoted to the denomination into which he may be said to have been born, never thought of sectarian limits when there was an opportunity to help the needy, to rescue the fallen, to encourage and cheer those who were walking in ways of wisdom and righteous purpose.

As these pages have multiplied upon the author's hands, it has at times seemed as if the great man whom they seek to portray was in his presence,—as if the familiar accents were again heard. Whatever may prove to be failure in the preparing of this history, the charge can never rest against the biographer that he has had “no feeling of his business.” The very arduous task has, at every stage, been a labor of love.

It would have been childish, inexcusable modesty to suppress any useful particular because it had some personal relation to the author. An intimate acquaintance and friendship covering more than half a century must embrace many things known only to the author. It is, however, hoped that in no instance has the biography become autobiographical.

Thanks are due to many friends who have put the author in possession of pertinent information. Special mention must be made of the services of Rev. Messrs. S. A. Parker, of Bethel Vt., and Luther Rice, of Watertown, N. Y., in furnishing particulars of Dr. Miner's boyhood and youth,—to not a few the most welcome feature of the work; also of the industrious endeavor of Miss M. Louise Fields (Mrs. Miner's niece), in making available the ample material garnered in the homestead.

That a work so largely made up of names, dates, and places, could, with any reasonable amount of labor, escape occasional error, is not within the limits of rational expectation. One error was discovered too late for correction. Its being noted here seems, however, an incidental good, in that it specially emphasizes the truth of history, that the pastorate in School Street was very prosperous from 1848 to 1867, when it was interrupted by incidents pertaining to the securing of an associate pastor. The "decade of prosperity interrupted" would have been accurate had the statement included two decades. Should the work be so fortunate as to reach a second edition, correction of serious errors will be made; and the pointing out of such to publisher or author will be a welcome favor.

Dr. Miner was great in so many directions, was so inwrought with theological, denominational, educational, and humanitarian activities that the great task has been one of judicious selection from ample and varied materials. He was literally an embodiment of many great movements; it is hoped that attempts to set him in proper and interpretative relations to the varied antecedents have not altogether failed of their purpose.

No formal dedication is attempted. The Christian community, the Universalist church, the worker in every reform, the helper in every humanitarian endeavor, may well accept the biography as meant for each and all.

G. H. E.

Boston, November 19, 1896.

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INTRODUCTION.

THERE are many reasons why "the righteous shall be in everlasting remembrance," of which chief are the debt of gratitude for the good that comes from and through them, and the duty to conserve their memory that the good may become a yet greater and wider influence among the beneficent forces that are urging the world forward and upward. "None of us liveth to himself, and no man dieth to himself." It is in the order of nature that what he is and what he does shall in various ways and perpetually enter into the lives of others. It was aptly, as well as elegantly, said by one of New England's most accomplished orators that the science of geology is simply the earth's autobiography rendered in the popular vernacular. Autobiographical the crust of the globe assuredly is, — every stratum, every volcanic twist and crevice, making its history intelligible to the thoughtful and patient observer. The attempt, therefore, to put into literary form the life-work of a great man is simply an endeavor to make more intelligible and more impressive what, to some extent and in forms only less vivid, the order of nature makes certain, in that it links the career of

every one with that of every other. If the life recorded be that of one of whom the world is not worthy, whose endeavors have shown the glory of sacrifice, who has struggled to aid and uplift those who were not able to appreciate the benefaction, all the more is it needful that the history be put in legible characters, that posterity may see what, as respects contemporaries, often struck eyes that were blind and ears that could not hear. By so doing we pay in some measure a debt of gratitude for blessings received, and give the record reverence and great potency as an ensample for future generations.

The present biographical work is begun in the belief, deliberately reached, that the person whose character and work it will attempt to describe was one of the great men of his time. The full import of this avowal is taken into careful consideration. The number of men and women to whom the epithet "great" can be justly applied is relatively very small. It means much that one on reaching his maturity should suddenly take a conspicuous place among the leaders of a branch of the Christian Church, and that, supplementing his chosen vocation with many avocations, he should, with only a less degree of suddenness, be recognized as a commanding champion of many good, and therefore unpopular, causes. But while efficiency and fidelity in such regards approximate greatness, and are indispensable constituents thereof, common usage presumes far more as needful to fill the deep and comprehensive measure. For the reason that greatness is a relative term, its rightful application must be limited. If all moun-

tains were very high, none, in any intelligible use of the words, would be even high. It seems to lie in the order and symmetry of physical nature that the hundreds, it may be thousands, of summits, each by itself of the altitude that seems imposing, shall be the setting of the very few lofty and commanding peaks. A popular school-atlas restricts the number of the high mountains of the globe to thirty-two, and in the list includes Vesuvius, which is of about the same altitude as our New Hampshire Monadnock. Whether or not the placing the subject of this memoir in the category of the elect few will commend itself to the judicial mind the sequel must determine.

If the estimate thus in general terms announced in advance is even measurably accurate, the call for the biographer is imperative. It would be a sin of ingratitude to permit the passing into neglect — what, however, cannot drop into oblivion — a character that seemed to have life only to be of service to mankind; and it would be the wasting of an opportunity, in its proportions and varied phases without precedent, not to inform, and, through the record, incite, a Christian denomination touching great interests which it must conserve and extend if it would hold honorable place in the Church of the future. The man who in his own person embodied not indeed all the high enterprises of the Church of his love, but who was privileged to lead in larger number, and in greater and more effective degree, than any of his brethren, should faithfully, and as far as the ability of his biographer makes practicable, be presented to those who survive him, and whose

solemn responsibility it will be to continue, and with yet wider applications, the work he made so grandly conspicuous. If the biography sketched in the pages of this volume shall in even fair degree be worthy of its subject, most, possibly all, of its readers will have a deeper and wider comprehension of the mission and the opportunities of the religious body distinctively and specially recognized than they have had heretofore, than it has so far been possible for them to obtain. The writer himself already perceives in these first paragraphs of his labor, and from the mere contemplation of his task, a somewhat new, and certainly a higher, significance in that providence which called into being the religious communion of his choice. The character of the great leader and unparalleled helper—the invidiousness of which implication will, it is believed, evoke no dissent, but, on the contrary, command emphatic assent—would indeed, even if left to itself, continue as a saving and directing force; but if a great opportunity is to be wisely and most profitably put to its better uses, that character must be put in the frame of a literary setting. The blazing candle must emit light, no matter where placed; but if the rays are to reach all who are in the house, it must be placed in a candlestick and upon a fitting pedestal.

If the proverb holds, “History is philosophy teaching by example,” it is to be considered that the examples are more than deeds,—they are deeds enlivened with the personalities of the doers; deeds reflecting the motives and mental and moral qualities of men and women: they are men and women in action. The

essence and flavor of the history are therefore biographical. A just biography of a great man, particularly if his greatness has manifested itself in faithful service to God and humanity, has a value which it would be difficult to over-estimate. Whether the Platos or the Plutarchs hold the higher place in useful literature may be a matter of opinion. Certain it is that the lives of great men remind even those of humbler gifts that they, too, may "make *their* lives sublime." We cannot be too grateful for the words that have come to us from the sages. But were some fiendish genius gifted with the power to take from us any of the great names of history, and what they represent, he would work for us his most diabolical mischief were he to blot from the great pages Luther and Cromwell, Washington and Lincoln, Wilberforce and Garrison.

It is in no way detrimental to the strong and valiant men who have borne much of the heat and burden of the day in creating, under what they never doubted was the directing hand of God, the Christian denomination which can but have a peculiar interest in the work which these pages begin, to assume that the person whose career is to be sketched embodied and represented a larger number of the essential particulars that now give the denomination character and prestige than has any other who has been called to the same general service. No other of the same school of biographers ever had so comprehensive a theme, not forgetting that the personality is too large for the limits of any sect, being powerfully felt in humanitarian interests common to all the sects and parties. It is a great satisfaction to

be able to assume that, provided this life-sketch shall be true to the essential facts, it cannot be so poorly executed as to be other than helpful to the Church specially represented, to all Christian Churches, and to the world.

LIFE OF DR. MINER.

CHAPTER I.

ANCESTRY.

ALONZO AMES MINER was born in the town of Lempster, Sullivan County, in the State of New Hampshire, the seventeenth day of August, in the year 1814. He died in Boston, Mass., the fourteenth of June, 1895. The period of eighty years, nine months, and twenty-seven days is, therefore, inclusive of all the directly biographical particulars narrated in this book. He was the second child and only son of Benajah Ames and Amanda Carey Miner. There were in all five children: Amanda Malvina Parker (mother of Rev. S. A. Parker, of Bethel, Vt.), born Nov. 8, 1811, now living in the house in which she was born; Alonzo Ames, born Aug. 17, 1814; Emma Eliza Hooper, born Feb. 9, 1817, now living at West Acton, Mass.; Rachel Dordana, born July 24, 1825, now living in La Crosse, Wis.; and Fanny Angelia, born June 29, 1830, died Oct. 10, 1868. The ancestry of the family first claims attention.

Mr. Miner—it is not intended that his title of Doctor of Divinity shall be specially recognized in these pages when mention is made of him in connection with events dating before the year 1863, in which year Harvard

University conferred upon him the honorary S. T. D. — always took some pride in certain particulars of his genealogy connecting him with the royal family of England. One curious incident, though quite personal to the writer, can but interest the reader, in that it reflects his modest pride as respects the origin of his paternal name. Many years ago, before the War of the Rebellion, the present biographer was honored with an invitation to give a lecture in the School Street Universalist Church before "The Universalist Sabbath School Union." The topic was "Wickliffe and the Reformation in England." Of course there was much to say of papal usurpation and exactions at the time practised, or attempted to be practised, upon the English people; of the sturdy and in the end successful resistance of England's great king, Edward III.; of the circumstance that this monarch, though a Catholic as matter of course, distinguished between the ecclesiastical supremacy of the pope — at this time Urban V. — and his political subordination in the English realm; of the notable fact that Wickliffe, though in both ecclesiastical and dogmatic rebellion against his papal master, sowing the seeds of a far more revolutionary Protestantism than the one led by Luther a century later, was protected against his priestly enemies by King Edward, who, perhaps not distinguishing very sharply between things political and things ecclesiastical, noted more particularly the service which Wickliffe was rendering as a patriot than as a Church reformer; and the lecturer was led to pay to Edward the tribute, which may not in all things have been judicially weighed, of being the greatest of English kings.

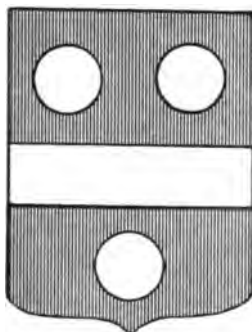
The lecture through, the speaker hardly reached the foot of the pulpit stairs ere Mr. Miner — it may be well to add, the pastor of the church — took him by the hand with a grasp which signified that if not the whole lecture, certainly something in it, had given him special satisfaction; and he made the remark: "I want to thank you for saying the good things of Edward III.; he was a particular friend of my family!" Naturally some explanation of this unlooked-for and seemingly strange declaration would have been sought on the instant; but other friends taking Mr. Miner's attention, no further words at the time passed between the two. The curious incident would perhaps have been forgotten but for its incidental explanation many years later.

In the almost continuous estate of war between France and England in parts of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, particularly the periods that are redolent of the names of Crécy, Poitiers, and Agincourt, the burden, both as respects money and men, must have fallen heavily on both countries; and the monarchs in the strife — technically known as "The Hundred Years' War" — of course greedily welcomed, even if they were not always grateful for, any efficient voluntary assistance proffered by their subjects. It was in the heart of Edward III., the hero of Crécy, not only to accept, but to make acknowledgments for, the offerings of his patriotic subjects; and it is to this king of many and bloody and very great victories that the Miner family, whose most distinguished representative was by profession and official relation, an enthusiastic and uncompromising apostle of peace, owes its name.

In the year 1882, being called upon to write for a book then in contemplation, to be entitled "Successful Men of New Hampshire," a brief biographical sketch of Dr. Miner, the present writer got from him the following curious and interesting statement, though not wholly given in his own words: Henry Bullman, of Mendippa Hills, Somersetshire, was a miner. He fitted out a company of one hundred, armed with battle-axes, many of them laborers in his mines, and presented the same to Edward III. for his use in Continental conquest. In his gratitude Edward conferred upon him a coat of arms and gave him the name of "Miner." This honored subject, and the first of the name of Miner, died in 1359. From him descended Thomas Miner, who came to Boston with the elder Winthrop in 1630. Charles Miner, of the fifth generation from Thomas, was a Revolutionary soldier. At the close of the war he removed from Connecticut to New Hampshire. A descendant of King Edward's friend, seventh in descent from Thomas, the grandson of Charles, ALONZO AMES MINER, was the son of Benajah Ames and Amanda (Carey) Miner, an only son and the second of five children.

Yet again was there occasion to take pride in a family connection with one who attained great renown, in a war the most bloody and terrible known to modern history, and in battles compared with which Crécy was little more than a muster parade, who, though never a king by title, reigned over a territory and a population whereof the England of any Edward was little more than an average New England county,

M I N E R



MINER COAT-OF-ARMS.

and whom kings and emperors thought it a privilege to honor. To the above genealogical statement is to be added the following: "Grace Miner, granddaughter of Thomas above named, married Samuel Grant, Jr., of Windsor, Conn., April 11, 1688. From that union descended Ulysses S. Grant, ex-President of the United States."

This genealogical summary is retained in this connection for the reason that for substance it is from Dr. Miner himself, though a more complete record now to be submitted will repeat a few essential particulars. Rev. S. A. Parker, of Bethel, Vermont,—as stated, a son of Dr. Miner's sister, and a native of Lempster,—kindly consented to give, as he had the facilities for doing, a quite full statement of Dr. Miner's ancestry, of the town in which they were both born, and of the Miner family. The curiosity is always very strong to hear particulars of the boyhood and home surroundings of one who has risen to fame, and in whose history is felt a deep personal interest. The biographer deems himself extremely fortunate that, through Mr. Parker's painstaking labors, which must have been to him a labor of love and of honest pride, the reader of this book will have, in considerable detail, a sketch of the boy Miner and his home, which in interest may not be eclipsed by any chapter pertaining to his manhood and work. The following is Mr. Parker's sketch of Dr. Miner's ancestry, given in curious and somewhat extended detail:—

"There is a laudable pride in looking back on a long line of honest, brave, and noble ancestors. This was what Dr. Miner

could do; but few ever heard him allude to his ancestry. He thought more of character than of heraldry. At the time of his death he could trace his ancestors for five hundred and thirty-seven years, through seventeen generations, not one missing, to Henry Bullman of the County of Somerset, England. This Bullman was a practical miner among the Mendippa Hills. As King Edward III. and his son, the Black Prince, were passing with their army through Somersetshire in 1346, on his fourth expedition against France, Henry Bullman offered the King his services, with a hundred of his miners and servants, who became a part of the military force. For this act the King knighted him, giving him his occupation as a surname, and he was known thereafter as Sir Henry Miner, knight. He was given a coat-of-arms of which a facsimile is given.

“Dr. Miner was of the eighth generation from Thomas Miner, his immigrant ancestor, who came from the County of Somerset, England, in Gov. John Winthrop’s company. They left the port of Yarmouth in the ‘Good Ship Arbella,’ April 8, 1630, arriving at Salem, Mass. (then Pequot), the 12th day of June. He settled in Charlestown, and was one of the leading men of the colony. He was the foremost in establishing the first church there, and appears as ‘No. 34’ on the first roll of the church. He thence moved to New London, Conn., and afterwards settled in Stonington in the same State. There in the old burying ground, almost imbedded in the turf, at his grave is a long rough granite stone, bearing this inscription, rudely cut:—

“‘Here lieth the body of Lieutenant Thomas Miner, aged 83 years, departed 1690.’

“It is a tradition that he had selected this stone from his field, and often pointed it out to his family with the request: ‘Lay this on my grave.’

“After three generations from Thomas Miner we come to

Ebenezer and Charles Miner, father and son, both born in Connecticut. Both came to Lempster and are buried in the cemetery by the lake.

“ Charles Miner, grandfather of Dr. Miner, was one of the early settlers of Lempster, N. H., nearly all of whom were emigrants from Connecticut. His earlier years have been sketched by himself. At what time the record was written does not appear. It is as follows:—

“ ‘ I was born in Lyme, Conn., in the year 1763, January 28th, my parents Ebenezer Miner and Betty Rowley. I lived with my parents till I was in my seventh year, and my father having a large family and under low circumstances, sent me to live with my grandfather, where I lived nearly three years. My grandfather being out of health and unable to manage his business, moved to his son-in-law's, Manasseh Leach, in New London, at which time I returned to my father's, where I remained a few months, and in the spring of 1772, and being in the tenth year of my age, I went to live with Mr. Moses Noyes, with whom I lived five years, and then returned to my parents and tarried with them a few days, and then went to live with Mr. Seth Lee at Lyme, Grassy-Hill, and with my father's consent agreed to live with him till I was twenty-one years of age, which time I faithfully served him, except so much of the time as I was in the Continental service.

“ ‘ In 1780 I was drafted into the State service to go to Horse-Neck for three months; and not liking to go in the State service, I enlisted in the Continental service for six months under Lieutenant Ichabod Spencer, and marched to headquarters of General Washington's army, which then lay at the Fish-Kills in New York State, and then joined Colonel Storr's regiment, Huntington's brigade, in the seventh company, commanded by Richard Sill of Lyme, Conn., and served the full time of six months, and was discharged with honor. Returned to my old master, worked with him till September, 1781, when the British came into New London, and burnt the larger part of the town. The alarm was given, and the militia was called out into town, and I for one, and there was drafted for two months. I served the time out, and returned to my master again, and worked with him till spring of 1782. And then I enlisted in the Continental service for six months under

Captain Ezra Selding; marched to headquarters, which then was at Verblanks Point, joined the Second Regiment commanded by Colonel Sill, of Lyme, Conn., General Huntington's brigade. Served my country that campaign very agreeably, and in December the 5th, 1782, I got my discharge from the army, and on the tenth arrived home to my master's house and was very happily received, and worked for him till the twenty-fifth. This being Christmas Day, my comrades called on me to accompany them in the diversion of hunting squirrels, and I not having spent any time with them since my return from the army, my master consented, and I joined their company. A sorrowful day to me it was, for towards the close of day, as we were returning home, our dogs called us into a swamp which was then a mill-pond, and having spent our ammunition, we thought to cut the tree that the squirrels were on. In so doing, the tree which we cut broke down another, which fell on me and broke and wounded me severely, breaking several bones and injuring me other ways, so that I was confined for about five months before I was able to work, I being then in my twentieth year. While I lay in this distressed situation it brought me to think of my sixteenth year, when at that time the Lord was pleased to work by His spirit on the minds of his people in this vicinity in which I lived, and there was a great reformation, many souls hopefully converted. I hope I made one of that number which shall in the coming world surround the dazzling throne, with the listening millions above.

“ ‘ In the time of my apprenticeship I became acquainted with a young woman, and soon after that my time being out with my master, I married her, and our fortune being very small, I thought best to leave my wife with her mother, as she had no father then living, and go in search of a place of residence. Accordingly on the fifth day of May, 1784, I started with two of my brothers-in-law and several others, seven in number, to go to some new country where land could be bought for little or nothing, for that was all we had to buy with. We rambled over the State of New York till we were satisfied we should not find the place we were in search of, and by this time our number had decreased to three, — my two brothers-in-law and myself.’ ”

“ Here abruptly ends the story, but it is evident that the writer's search did not end there. The records of the family



EAST LEMPSTER VILLAGE.

show that Charles Miner and his wife, Rachel Ames, came to the town of Lempster, N. H., October 1, 1784, the same year.¹

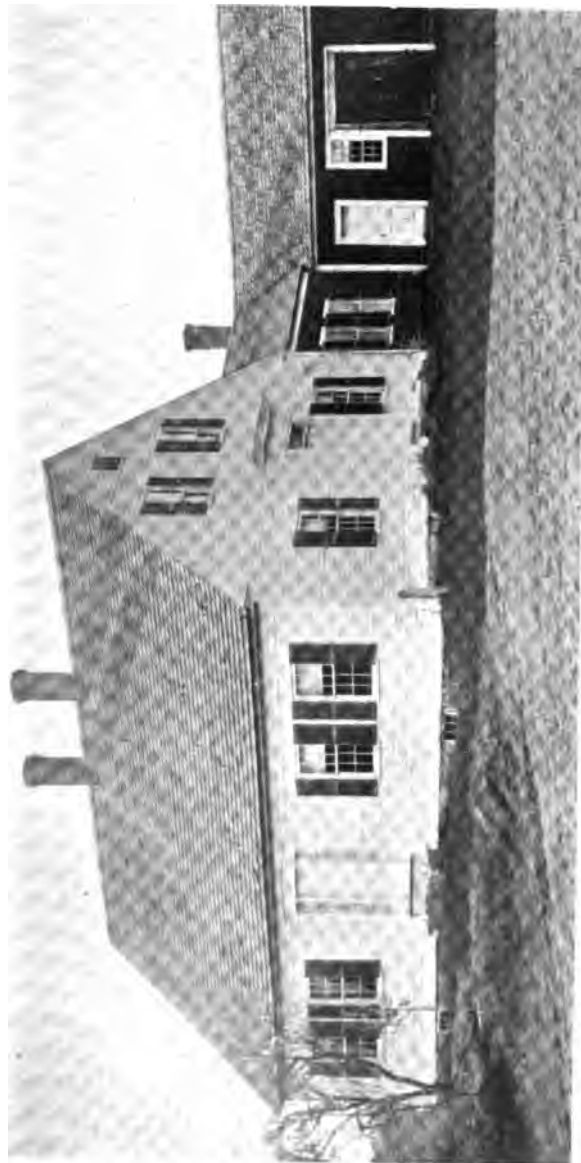
¹ The exceptional extent in which the Miner pedigree can be traced, occasioned the following paragraph, which appeared in the "Boston Journal":—

"Not many moderns can boast that they have seen seven generations of their family. This unusual privilege Rev. A. A. Miner is said to have, and all except the representative of the last generation, a six months old babe, in the same house. This house is that in which his eldest sister, Mrs. William B. Parker now resides, and in which his parents, grandparents, and great-grand-parents also resided. In Dr. Miner's childhood eight grand-parents and great-grand-parents lived in Lempster, five in one house and three in another. Dr. Miner is of the fourth generation in that line of seven, and the eighth of Thomas Miner, the common ancestor of the Miners in this country, who came to Boston with the elder Winthrop in 1630."

CHAPTER II.

THE MINER HOMESTEAD.

THE saying, attributed to Daniel Webster, "New Hampshire is a good State to emigrate from," may be taken in two senses. It may convey the complimentary intimation that whoever leaves it for other fields of endeavor or ambition is quite sure to take with him somewhat of the strength of its hills, and possibly a nerve toned and muscle strengthened by the hard toil enforced by its chilly atmosphere and not very thrifty soil; or it may be understood as a notice that New Hampshire is a region from which it is wisdom to take an early departure. It is unmistakably the fact that its proportion of strong men and women is exceptionally large; it is also a noticeable fact that the majority of its gifted sons and daughters seek fields of enterprise in other commonwealths. The circumstance that Alonzo A. Miner had his birth in a small farming town in the Granite State was at the outset somewhat of a presumption in his favor, and the fact that he rose to eminence in another State is in accord with many precedents. Lippincott's Gazetteer, in its edition of 1882, disposes of the place in these four lines: "Lempster, a post-village of Sullivan Co., N. H., in Lempster township, about 36 miles from Concord. It is 9 miles south



THE MINER HOMESTEAD.
(ORIGINALLY BUILT IN 1791.)

of Newport. It has a church and a high school. Population of the township, 678." The Rev. Mr. Parker gives the following interesting sketch of what he rightly calls "A. A. Miner's native town":—

"Up among the granite hills of New Hampshire, on the dry land of the watershed between the Connecticut and Merrimac Rivers, lies the town of Lempster, twenty miles north of Keene, and twelve miles south-east of Claremont. The surface is uneven, diversified with hills and mountains, and watered by many sparkling streams and silver lakes. The snow leaves late, and the frosts come early, so that the farmer has to make a continual fight against the opposing forces of nature in order to wring a livelihood from the unwilling earth.

"At the east village is a small sheet of water half a mile long and a fourth wide, seemingly surrounded by hills; but from it a stream runs to the north, and one to the south. Both find their way to the Connecticut. On the west side of this little lake on a sandy hill is the old burying ground where Dr. Miner's father, and mother, sister, grandfather, and grandmother, great-grandfather, and great-grandmother Miner, are buried, and whose graves overlook the lake.

"Here, too, is the last resting-place of the Perleys, Mrs. Miner's father and mother, and others of her family. The little village of East Lempster was not always so quiet as now. In the days when the old six-horse stage coach rattled through the town it was a place of no little thrift and activity. But since the railroads have left it ten miles from the nearest of these great thoroughfares of commerce and travel the town has decreased in numbers, and business.

"In this village is the Universalist Chapel, built more than fifty years ago by William B. Parker, who married Dr. Miner's oldest sister. Five hundred dollars was the price paid Mr. Parker for the work. It is a very unpretentious

building — a church without a steeple. Settees take the place of pews, which will accommodate comfortably a hundred and twenty-five persons. It is still used as a place of worship. This was the religious home of the Miner family, and where the Doctor often preached when visiting his birthplace. Before the little chapel was built, the Universalists held their services in public halls in different parts of the town. This was the condition when Dr. Miner listened to Universalist preaching in his boyhood. That band of Universalists who built that little church had a great influence on the religious thought and life of that community. This obscure town was the birthplace and early home of the following Universalist ministers: Asa Spaulding, and Willard Spaulding, brothers; T. R. Spencer, and Lucius A. Spencer, brothers; Hiram Beckwith, William Wilcox, George Severance, S. A. Parker, and A. A. Miner.

“Two miles west of the east village is another, somewhat larger, — a single wide street, climbing by gradual ascent a low hill, on the top of which are the three New England institutions, — the meeting-house, school-house, and town-house. This village, like its neighbor, was once less quiet than now. Fifty years ago there were extensive tanning works, boot and shoe shops located there, which gave an air of busy life to the little place, but of which now not a vestige remains, all having been destroyed years ago by fire.

“In Dr. Miner’s boyhood there was in the town a factory for dressing cloth — one of the best in the county — which dressed three thousand yards annually, but like hundreds of the same in the country, it disappeared long ago when home manufacture was superseded by machinery. There was also at that time a public library in town, or, as it was then called, a ‘social’ library. Nearly every fall there was a ‘select’ school in some part of the town where the young men and maidens could pursue studies not taught in the district.



UNIVERSALIST CHURCH, EAST LEMPSTER.

Alonzo Miner and Maria Perley were among the pupils. Somewhat later, and for many years, the town voted at its annual meeting one hundred dollars toward the expenses of this school, which kept in the fall, alternately at the 'Pond' and the 'Street,' as the two villages were called in the local vernacular. This is the town where, as already stated, Dr. Miner's grandfather, Charles Miner, and his wife Rachel made their first settlement on the hillside just above the 'Martin Beckwith Place,' the north part of 'Lempster Street.' Here were born their two oldest children, Lucy and Benajah Ames, the father of Alonzo Ames Miner. Soon the family moved two miles south, to the place now known as the Miner homestead; here was built a log-house. Not many years after this rude structure gave place to a comfortable and commodious house, which is still standing, and in good repair, owned by Dr. Miner's oldest sister, Mrs. Amanda M. Parker. It has always been owned by some descendant of Charles Miner, except in one instance for a short time. It has been in existence more than a hundred years.

"Benajah Ames Miner and Amanda Carey commenced their married life January 24, 1811, in the old Miner Homestead, but soon after they built them a home at the east, not a third of a mile away. In that new dwelling the first child born was Alonzo Ames Miner, their only son. Another child had come to them nearly three years before—a little girl, Amanda Malvina—who first saw the light in the old homestead, and who celebrated her golden wedding September 22, 1879, in the room in which she was born, when a large company came with congratulations, gifts, and pleasant words. Among the most prominent guests were Dr. Miner and his wife, he reading to the company the little poem he wrote on his way from Boston. His birthplace on the hill was beautiful for situation, but the house did not long remain there. The water supply proved unsatisfactory. His father showed

his appreciation of good water by moving the house down to the foot of the hill, where a pure stream from an unfailing spring was conducted in logs to the house and barn. This one-story, red farm-house, which stands to-day as it did seventy-five years ago, has a unique situation, very unlike the site on the hill. The house rests on the edge of a great basin, which was once a little lake. On the east is a range of mountains, rocky and wild. On the other side is a smooth, circular chain of sandy and gravelly hills, varying from fifty to a hundred feet in height. A little way from the house is a cut in the range of hills through which the lake ran away, and where now is a carriage road and a stream of water. Geologically considered, it cannot be long since the lake broke away from its enclosure, for the sides of the bank through which it ran have never been covered with grass or shrubs. When Alonzo was a boy a dam ran across this gulf between the hills. By shutting the gate there was a lake of clear spring water, covering twenty or thirty acres. Here the Alonzo learned to manage a boat and become an amateur sailor. One day in autumn, when he was under fifteen years of age, his oldest sister and a young lady guest were going around on the opposite side of the lake to pick blackberries. Alonzo said to them: 'I will take the boat and row you across.' The three started, but when they had reached about the middle of the lake, the boat capsized. The lady visitor was intensely frightened. With great presence of mind Alonzo said, 'Don't scream! Stop! Stop! I will get you out.' The water came up to the chin. He went behind the two girls and pushed them out to dry land. His calmness and courage saved them from a fatal accident. Alonzo's home was at the end of the road. Only one house was in sight; this was situated in another part of the basin, and was the home of his uncle, Ezra Miner, a hundred rods away. Looking at the landscape in a classical aspect, one need not



THE MINER BURIAL GROUND.

have a very vivid imagination to see in it a great amphitheatre with only one entrance, the gradually sloping hills, the seats, and the arena sometimes covered with water and sometimes a field of moving grain. On the front seats are located the house, the barns and sheds. When Alonzo was a boy all the buildings were in good repair."

CHAPTER III.

THE PARENTS.

BENAJAH AMES MINER and his wife, Amanda Carey, the parents of Alonzo, — what of them? Naturally the thousands who revere the memory of the son will gratefully welcome any particular touching characteristics of his father and mother, and may well be curious to know in what regard the traits reappear in the man who was destined to make the name of Miner a household word in thousands of homes all over the land. The writer never saw the mother; but when she passed from earth, Dr. Miner, giving but few particulars, said of her, in an accent denoting the tenderest affection, and conveying far more than the simple words: "My mother was a good woman; I am firm in my belief that I never knew a better woman." The father was present at a Commencement annual of Tufts College during Dr. Miner's presidency. He sat upon the platform, and of course was the specially "observed of all observers." He was in venerable years, giving no sign of the physical energy which characterized him in the days of his strength; though, seen at a distance, the eye betokened not a little of the mental force that was so characteristic of the son. Again the Rev. Mr. Parker will delight the reader with pertinent and representative particulars. He says: —



BENAJAH AMES MINER.

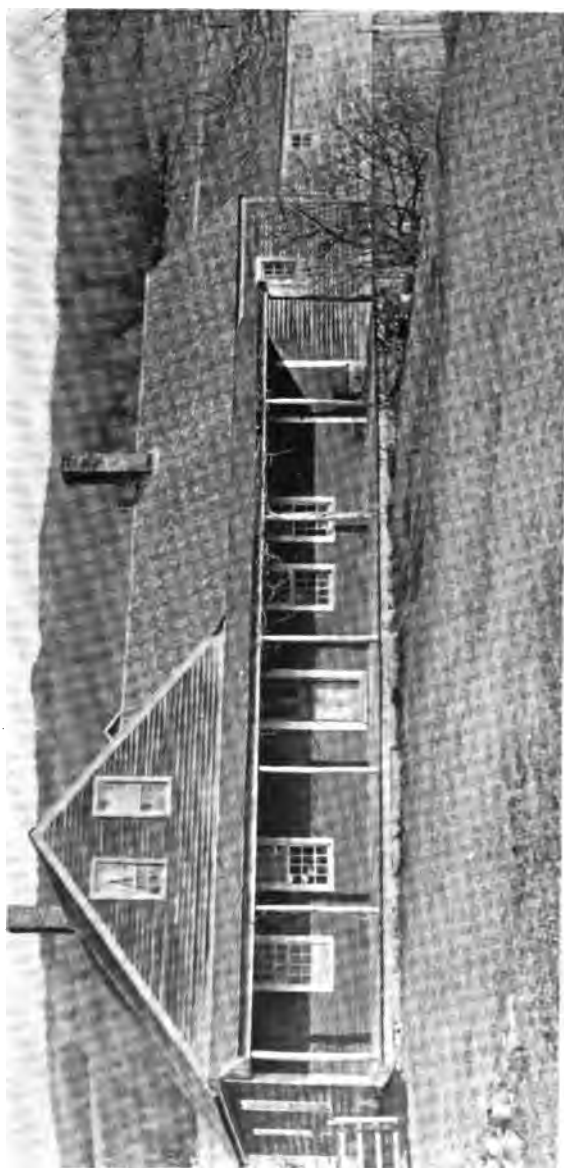
AMANDA CAREY MINER.

"Benajah Miner was one of the best farmers in town. His fields were made rich and productive. Most of his cattle were thoroughbred Durhams, all fat and sleek. He had Morgan horses, some of which he sold at a high figure. One went to Vermont, where it made the then remarkable time of 2.40. He was a man of method, and had a place for everything, and everything in its place. All his hired men were taught to put things where they belonged. He had a remarkable faculty for securing the obedience of all those who worked for him. A word, or a look from his piercing eye, was enough to carry out his commands. It is safe to say that in the day of his activity he did more work than any two average farmers in town. He went into the field and said, 'Come boys,' and always led his hired men. This was his well-known reputation. He hired one young man of remarkable strength, energy, and ambition, who made up his mind that he could do as much work as his employer in any work on the farm. The first day Mr. Miner took him into the field to hoe corn. The young man struck in boldly and took the lead. He hoed his row as quickly as possible, and by great effort succeeded in keeping a little ahead. Several times he thought his employer was going by him, but he finally came out two or three hills in advance, and then complacently leaned on his hoe and looked triumphantly around to see Mr. Miner still digging away. The young man, who often told the story, said, 'You can imagine my surprise and mortification when I found the old man had been hoeing two rows to my one.' Mr. Miner said, 'You have done well, my boy!' He used to tell that he worked for six dollars per month lumbering in the woods. After his day's labor he would care for his team and peel a birch broom every evening.

"Mr. Miner's wife, like himself, was born in Lempster. Her parents, Olivet Carey and Bertha Wood, came, like the Miners, from Connecticut, and were among the early settlers

church with their money and their presence. When Sunday came the father would say: 'Come, children, you must be lively, we mus' n't be late to meeting.' And they never were late. If the preacher were a stranger, he and his wife would be the first to speak to him, telling him who they were, and introduce others to him. Their religion was precious to them and they impressed it on all their children. Dr. Miner honored his father and mother for the religious teaching he received in the home in which he was born."

It is evident that Alonzo got his strong antagonism to Calvinistic orthodoxy from the example, possibly from the blood of his father, whose revolt from the faith of his parents must have been instinctive; and his devout faith in Universalist Christianity, his strong positive convictions from his mother. It is certain that he was a faithful and affectionate son. After his entrance into the Christian ministry — in Methuen, Lowell, and Boston, — his yearly pilgrimage to Lempster and to Marlow near by, was always looked forward to with eager anticipation — it was the going back to the dear old home; and until death had taken his parents to their rest, he rarely failed to pass a few summer weeks in the old homestead. That homestead was well known to the later New Hampshire Universalist preachers. It means not a little that their baptismal rite was taken at the hands of that true man of God, the Rev. Lemuel Willis, whose saintly spirit was a quickener of spiritual life in whatever presence he entered. And as respects the particular rite, parental example doubtless had its influence; in other connections it will appear that Mr. Miner was baptized on occasion of his ordination as a minister, and that in the early years of his ministry he administered the rite to others.



BIRTHPLACE OF A. A. MINER.

CHAPTER IV.

BOYHOOD AND YOUTH.

THE writer of this biography is willing to confess that when, in the later years, he has looked upon a man who has become twenty-eight years of age, he fails to see anything but a large boy. That was A. A. Miner's age when he first saw him; but he has always had the appearance of a mature man—in truth his manhood has ever been conspicuous among men. Presumably these lines can be read by very few who will not be compelled to make an effort to think of that tall, commanding presence as ever having been a boy or youth. But of course there were for Alonzo Ames Miner boyhood and youth; and thanks to his devoted relative, interesting particulars of the early period can be supplied.

The four-score and upward to which Dr. Miner's earthly life was graciously protracted may be regarded as sufficient proof that his varied ills were superficial, and that there was vigorous recuperative vitality at the core: his physical constitution if never strong, must have had the vigor that conserves. But the history of his early years is that of illness caused by accident, and the most dangerous as well as "noblest of animals" was the cause. In another chapter something will naturally be said of Dr. Miner's perils by the horse: more than

once was he put in danger by this animal for which he had a profound affection — not a few believe that a fall from his horse but a few days before his decease hastened if it did not cause the fatal issue. Neither in youth nor in maturity was there anything of the sportsman in his blood. He took no pleasure in the horse as a means of displaying equestrian skill, nor did he have any heart to “show him off” for his bearing or his speed. But the horse was his friend, and between him and his steed mutual confidence and affection were matters of course; and he could no more show cruelty or an indifference to the brute that was both companion and servant, than to the mother whom he tenderly cherished. But the horse was the cause of his early ills, which in no small degree followed him all his days. “When riding a colt one day,” writes the Rev. Mr. Parker, “he was thrown off. As he had been told never to let a horse get away, he clung to the bridle and was dragged on the rough ground many rods, until he stopped the colt. He was badly injured and it caused a softening of the bones. He was taken to one of the most skilful physicians in that part of the State, who after giving him a careful examination pronounced the case a critical one. “But,” adds Mr. Parker, “his fine constitution joined to the best of medical treatment and a mother’s loving care saved him from a premature death, although he carried the marks of the accident through life.”

But possibly there may be no occasion to indulge in vain regrets. For aught that can be known to the contrary the unruly colt may have been the providential

occasion that gave the world the Alonzo Ames Miner whom a later generation was to know only to revere! Such a man was not for the vocation of the farmer or other sphere of physical toil, however honorable and useful. The freak of the dumb animal, compelled his human victim to give vent to his energies in a very different realm and endeavor. "The accident was," Mr. Parker writes, "the crisis of his life. He devoted himself henceforth to study, mathematics being to him the most delightful pursuit. Often, when finding a problem he was unable to solve, the dreams of the night would reveal its mysteries to him, and in the morning he would take his slate and within a few moments work it out correctly. Without a teacher he mastered his Algebra and commenced the study of Greek. The first school he attended was," Mr. Parker continues, "in the Old Red School-House a mile away from his home. The house is gone, but he often alluded to those school days. In that house he spoke his first 'piece' Cowper's poem on Alexander Selkirk: —

‘I am monarch of all I survey.’

"One term the master of the school offered a prize to the best speller. Alonzo made a careful preparation for the contest, and did not miss a word. An older boy met with the same success. The prize was Walker's Dictionary, and as both could not have it, and Alonzo was determined not to lose it, he 'bought out' the other boy!"

Evidently the Universalist ministers whom he saw under his father's roof, were, as they should have been,

exemplary men, for it must have been their influence that led him to select the ministry for his vocation, and that in his boyhood. Mr. Parker sets this inference with an amusing incident. "As in after life, Alonzo had his troubles at school. He came home one day very much excited and said to his mother: 'A boy told me I lied. I should swear at him if I wasn't going to be a minister.' She calmly looked at him and said: 'Alonzo, I am very glad you are going to be a minister if that kept you from swearing!'" Mr. Parker has more to say of the favorite animal:—

"Old Sorrel was Alonzo's favorite horse. In the winter he would hitch her up and take his sisters and neighbors' children to school. When he had safely unloaded them, he would turn the horse around, do up the reins, pack everything snugly in the sleigh, and with a kind pat say, 'Old Sorrel—Go home.' She would go directly to the barn!

"Once upon a time his father let a 'Singing Master' have the horse to drive a few weeks in visiting his schools. Alonzo and his sister concluded to visit one of the schools held eight miles away. They reached the place in good season but the master was late. When he drove up 'Old Sorrel' was in a sorry plight—not a dry hair on her. Alonzo was indignant but did not 'swear.' He followed the horse to the stable and worked rubbing her half the evening. He preferred to care for that poor willing servant, rather than to attend the singing school. His father immediately ordered 'Old Sorrel' to be taken home. Being brought up on a farm among horses, cattle and sheep, he had a peculiar sympathy for them, and could never hold his peace when he saw them abused. He always had a voice to champion the cause of those poor and oppressed creatures who cannot speak for themselves."

This incident will surprise no one who in later years knew Alonzo A. Miner. But there are not a few who will find it difficult to repress the tears as they read Mr. Parker's touching words. "A righteous man regardeth the life of his beast."

"Alonzo was an only brother with four sisters — one older and three younger. The oldest was married in early womanhood when her brother was but a boy and developed into a staid matronly old-fashioned New England housekeeper, looking well to the ways of her household and bringing up her five children with daily admonition and careful oversight. In this home and among these children her brother was a welcome guest.

"The sister next younger than himself was, from age and circumstance more intimately associated with him than any of the others. She was a bright, energetic, and witty girl and was with him in his School at Unity, N. H., both as teacher and scholar. She also became one of the notable mothers and housewives of New England.

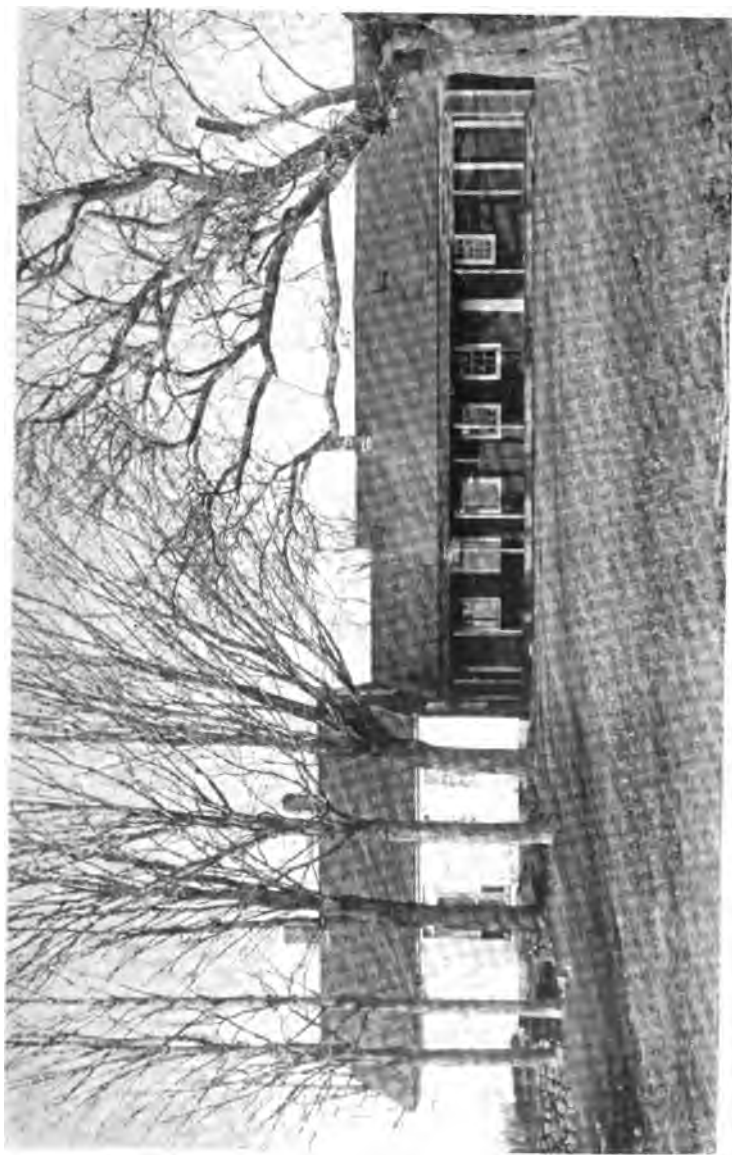
"The other two sisters were many years younger, and were children when Dr. Miner was a young man. One of them much resembled him in personal appearance and characteristics.

"The other and the youngest was one of the sweetest and loveliest of women. How great was the influence of these surroundings on his character and temperament we cannot tell. But these four sisters with their affection for their only brother, their gentle, intelligent and womanly ways, their attractive personality and the beauty of youth, could but have a softening and elevating power on any human heart."

There is another incident of Alonzo's youth that will interest every reader. For "all the world loves the

lover!" Maria Perley now comes into the narrative, and there is the not very uncommon experience of "two hearts that beat as one." Mr. Parker's pen is again made serviceable:—

"In the same school district lived the Perley Family, which occupied about the same social position as the Miner family. The Perley homestead is a mile and a half north of the birthplace of Dr. Miner. Capt. Edmond Perley was as firm a believer in the doctrines of the Methodist church as was Capt. Ames Miner in the doctrines of Universalism. Each was a leader in the church of his choice. Mr. Perley had an intelligent, interesting, and accomplished family. Rarely does one find young ladies more attractive in person, endowed with sweeter and richer musical voices, or more cultivated in mind and heart. Two of them married Methodist clergymen—one, the late Bishop Osmond Baker, who lived in Concord, N. H., and occupied much the same relative position in the Methodist church that Dr. Miner did in the Universalist. All the Perley children went to school at the Red School-House. Maria was one of the older girls of the family. Here Alonzo first saw her, and when little children they became strong friends. Their friendship grew into a tenderer feeling as the years advanced; but there was an icy barrier between them. They had entirely different views about religion! While the other children were at play, engaged in their usual games and sports, Alonzo Miner and Maria Perley were seated in a quiet corner of the dressing-room discussing religious subjects such as the Trinity, Vicarious Atonement, and Endless Punishment. By the revelation of after years, it is evident that the icy theological barrier between them melted away through the clear arguments which young Alonzo used, and the intense interest of the heart with which they were enforced. Within two years of her death Mrs. Miner said to Dr. Miner's sister, in answer



BIRTHPLACE OF MRS. MINER.

to a question: 'I was never engaged;' but it is quite manifest that they were always virtually 'engaged' after they became acquainted. She rejoiced in her new faith and did most helpful work to build it up."

At the age of fifteen Alonzo was fully alive to the serious and imperative responsibilities of life, and, can it be added, thanks to the unruly colt? he was, with a zeal that never grew cold, and a purpose that never relaxed, fitting himself for life and great service to his fellows. His "courage and perseverance" — again the words are Mr. Parker's — "were shown while a youth, in gaining an education. His indomitable will surmounted all obstacles. When fifteen years old he attended the Academy at 'Dempster Street.' He did 'chores' for the Congregationalist clergyman in payment for his board, and rang the bell at the academy for his tuition. His father applied to the committee for his boy to teach the winter school in his own district. The committee did not doubt that he had sufficient education, but being only sixteen years old, was fearful that he would not be able to "keep order," as it was a large school, and many great, rough boys. The father made answer: 'If Alonzo fails in 'keeping order,' he shall leave at once.' With this assurance he went into the school. He was at once unmistakably the master, and he did not leave the school until the close. That was one of the greatest triumphs of his life."

It is a touching passage, indeed, and a noble yet strictly just tribute, with which Mr. Parker concludes the sketch that has so greatly enlivened these pages: —

"Alonzo Miner knew how to win the hearts of children. He shed sunshine in the homes of his relatives. He has nephews and nieces who remember him, not simply on account of his public life, the eloquent sermons in the pulpit, the stirring addresses on the platform; but for his kindness, his sweet words, and little gifts to them when visiting his sisters. These little children are now gray-headed men and women, and their pleasantest and dearest memories of him come up from those early days when he and his wife would drive up from Lowell with his horse and chaise. They were always glad to have 'Uncle Alonzo' and 'Aunt Maria' visit them, for they always brought a lot of presents, sweetmeats, candies, pineapples — the first they ever saw, — primers and little books, — and what appeals to the heart of a child like these? Now more than fifty years have gone, the uncle and aunt have passed away, but some of these 'old children' have still laid away in trunks or drawers, some of these gifts as keepsakes, and go now and then to look at them with reverent and loving hearts."

CHAPTER V.

TEACHER AND PREACHER.

THERE has been occasion for the remark that possibly, even probably, the injury received from the unruly colt unfitting him for exacting physical toil, may have been an indirect cause in transferring A. A. Miner from the plough to the higher field of his Master's Vineyard. Yet, as appears from the incident of his saying, touching the boy who told him he "lied," that the temptation to have retorted with profane expletives was resisted by the consideration that he was "to be a minister," his mind even in boyhood had the sacred office in view. The child of Universalist parents so strong in the faith as to attest their devotion thereto by the baptismal rite, the frequent visits of Universalist ministers in his home, while discharging professional duty, the contact with that man of God—the Rev. Lemuel Willis, possibly an influence from the Rev. Otis A. Skinner of blessed memory, who at one time was Alonzo's "school master," and his being a "born Universalist" and never under the shadow of a hostile faith, together with an intensely devout nature,—in view of all this the Universalist ministry would seem to have suggested to him his proper vocation even had his

frame been as rugged and his vitality as vigorous, as his faith was strong and his zeal fervent. Doubtless the occasion of bodily infirmity together with an instinctive choice led him into the high profession that in pre-eminent degree he was to honor and help make honorable. The writer of this biography, having noted how relatively great is the number of persons who receive injuries from "the noblest of animals," has long had a habit of warning his friends: "Beware of the horse!" and on at least two occasions he has expostulated with Dr. Miner after witnessing that spectacle which often made pedestrians on the sidewalks of Boston come to an abrupt stop to gaze and admire — in the last twenty years, Dr. Miner on the back of his horse has been one of the Boston sights — and the particular has been emphasized that the horse of surest foot may find the smooth pavement treacherous. But in the light of all the history who can tell how much the Universalist denomination and ministry may owe to the dangerous but fascinating brute?

During and immediately after the protracted and dangerous illness which has been described, Alonzo's preparations for professional life were pursued under serious difficulties. His first "academy," where he made himself proficient in studies not in the curriculum of the district school, becoming almost titanic in mathematics, was the invalid's chair; nor was he disheartened when the skilled physician gave him thirty years as the full allotment of his life on earth! He, however, so far recovered as to supplement and round out these home studies with systematic academic training, under com-

petent instructors at Hopkinton,¹ Lebanon and Franklin, N. H., and at Cavendish, Vt. At the age of sixteen he was alternating studies in the academy with teaching in the village school. "His pupilage at Cavendish was soon followed by promotion. Mr. John Garvin was the principal. He was a very zealous Calvinist. Alonzo Miner was a no less zealous Universalist. It was at a time when sectarian lines were sharply drawn. It was then a custom with zealous Calvinists to regard Universalists not simply as unsound in doctrine, but also as wicked in life and conduct! But Mr. Garvin saw something in the young pupil that dispelled the prejudice. He took him into partnership in the management of the school in 1834. In this position young Miner served a year. In 1835 certain gentlemen of Unity, N. H., proposing to establish an academy at that village saw in Mr. Miner, now near his majority, their man. He accepted their proposition. The school, named the 'Scientific and Military Academy,' was for both sexes, with military training for boys. Four years of his principalship were successful beyond expectation. In some of the terms the number of scholars reached

¹ A memory and a curious guess personal to the biographer will interest the reader. In the fall of 1832 the writer was the boy companion of a Henniker apple-raiser on the way to Concord with several barrels of a then favorite apple,— "gelly-flowers." Passing the Hopkinton academy just as its doors opened for "recess," the owner of the team, never forgetting that he had been a boy, stood up and pelted the crowd of wild youngsters with shots from the barrels! The scramble in the competition to catch the tempting fruit, with the incidents of tumbling one another over, jumping with uplifted hands, and the "yells," native to the academy, made an ineffaceable impression. Possibly "Alonzo" was one of those boys, but if so he doubtless simply looked on: he had not the strength to participate in the good-natured fray.

one hundred and fifty. August 24, 1836, he was married to the young lady who had his first and only love, and who made her return of a first and only love, — Maria S. Perley of Lempster, who entered the school as preceptress.”¹

This school at Unity has a conspicuous place in the early career of Mr. Miner, and arduous and exacting as the care of so large a number of pupils must have been, he did not forget that his chosen vocation was in a different sphere, and in less than three years he began to “alternate” his labors as an instructor with those of the Universalist preacher. His ministry of over fifty-seven years began in a small Vermont village — that of Chester:² this was in February, 1838. In the May succeeding he began to preach regularly — half the time in Unity, the other half in a circuit of about twenty villages in the vicinity. Six months later he attempted to resign his principalship, but yielded to a request to remain a year longer, also keeping up his Sunday appointments.

Fortunately this meagre sketch of Mr. Miner’s two-fold labors at Unity can be supplemented with very interesting particulars from one who in those early days was at once his pupil, companion and parishioner — the Rev. Luther Rice, now of Watertown, N. Y. In generous response to a request he gives a sketch of the

¹ “Successful New Hampshire Men,” p. 17.

² Chester, a post-village of Windsor Co., Vt., in Chester township, on Williams River, and on the Central Vermont Railroad, thirty-nine miles south-east of Rutland. It has three churches and a graded school. The township contains another village named Chester Depot, and has manufactures of carriages, lumber, boots, sash, etc. Population of the township 2,052.” *Lippincott’s Gazetteer*, 1883.

man as he then was, of his manner as an instructor, and of his early preaching, which is here submitted, as follows:—

“My first recollections of Alonzo Ames Miner are as I saw him at the opening of the school at Unity, N. H., in the autumn of 1837. The old Academy stood in the centre of the village, a good sized wooden building to which many of the young men and women both of New Hampshire and Vermont came to complete their education. Here I saw Mr. Miner for the first time—some sixty years ago. I shall never forget him as I first knew him. He was tall, commanding and dignified, and, though then youthful, he always seemed to inspire a sort of reverence in all who came in contact with him; just as the young men of to-day always seemed to stand in awe of him, so, even then did the students feel towards their teacher. He was smooth-shaven, and of course did not possess many of the graces of carriage which in later years seemed always so characteristic of Dr. Miner. But even then his upright, manly form seemed to possess a grace and a dignity which were rare.

“As a teacher it is a delight to think of him. How well I remember him as he appeared in the class-room—so apt in his illustrations, so concise, so clear. It seemed to me then as if no problem could be so knotty that he could not untie and straighten it out. I do not think it was the inexperience of my youth which made me feel that as a teacher he came as near perfection as any one who ever entered the class-room. He impressed me as being master of the subjects which he taught. Young as he was, his influence was largely felt outside of the schoolroom. As a lecturer he commanded a large hearing. I remember how we all looked forward to his lectures as well as to hearing him preach. His lectures were models, it seemed to me, in grace of diction, arrangement, as well as in the knowledge they imparted.

"As a preacher Dr. Miner was my ideal — a splendid model. I remember well the first sermon I heard him preach. He compared our faith to the light of the sun, and contrasted it with the feeble lamp of our opponents, who invite us to come and sit by their light, lest the great luminary should go out and leave us in darkness! He invited me once to go with him to my native town in Vermont where he was to preach. I shall always regard that ride over the hills and through the valleys as an honor and privilege. To my great delight he repeated that first sermon. In the next autumn we had a new class of students and I heard the same sermon for the third time with just as much pleasure as at the first! In those early days he was always ready to cross swords in the cause of truth with those who were in his judgment 'of the powers of darkness.' He had his enemies and those who sought to injure him. But then, as in all later years, he never swerved from his idea of the right and never feared to strike against evil in any form.

"Towards the close of my last term at the school in Unity, Mr. Miner was confined to his room by sickness. I called upon him, and during the conversation I inquired if he expected to leave Unity and the school. His reply was: 'Unless I get better I shall leave this world!' I saw that Mrs. Miner was visibly affected, and the subject was dropped. Such was the precarious state of his health at that early day. None of us thought he would fill out the full measure of fourscore years. Many years have passed since I stood in the relation to Dr. Miner of pupil to teacher, but the impression of those early days will never be effaced from my memory. And I have always been proud to have him and his excellent companion speak of me as one of their boys."

At the period now reached, Alonzo Ames Miner was a young Universalist preacher, most favorably known in his immediate neighborhood, but outside of this with-

out fame or much recognition. A careful examination of the files of the denominational papers might possibly find his name in scattered paragraphs, but a cursory examination nowhere falls upon it. Possibly he was a quiet and it may be a shy attendant upon the local denominational Association. There is no evidence that he may not have been present at some session of the larger body—the State Convention. Somewhat abruptly, and in a most conspicuous way, he is seen at a New Hampshire Convention in 1839—there publicly to attest his faith in Christianity, by the baptismal rite, and to consecrate himself to the Christian Ministry by the covenant and the vows of ordination.

The New Hampshire Convention of Universalists held an annual session in Nashua, June 19, 20, 1839. This was before the better organization in which conventions assemble for work; to mature plans of work, and to discuss specific themes presumed to bear upon the duties of parishes and churches as instruments for extending the kingdom of God on earth. Half a century ago and more, people went to the conventions to hear sermons from noted preachers, to pass a few resolutions, usually one on temperance and possibly another on slavery, and then go home, not so much to ask, "What shall we do?" as to tell what wise and good things they had heard.

In these days an ordination service would, unless some exigency called for it, be regarded as an encroachment on time pre-empted by the programme. Not so in the early time, when so peculiar a service as that of inducting a candidate into the ministry gave

the greatest interest to the convention. Alonzo A. Miner was ordained at that Nashua session of the State Convention: nor was that all,—he also received the rite of baptism by immersion, a ceremonial to which he was powerfully drawn in the days of his youth and early ministry. A large concourse was drawn to the banks of the river, where, after prayer by the Rev. Sebastian Streeter of Boston, the rite of immersion was administered by the Rev. William S. Balch. The service of ordination, of course, took place in the Universalist Church, and in the presence of a congregation that was deeply moved by the historic ceremonial. A council having examined the candidate, and finding him in all respects “worthy and well qualified,” the service proceeded,—Rev. Mr. Balch preaching the sermon; Rev. Thomas Whittemore, editor of the “Trumpet,” offering the prayer; Rev. John Moore presenting the Scriptures and giving the charge; Rev. Moses Ballou extending the right hand of fellowship. Then and there was inducted into the Universalist ministry one who was to honor the high vocation for more than the years of half a century.

In later years Dr. Miner, with experienced brethren, often complained of the inconsiderate haste with which “calls” are extended to ministers,—an indirect tribute, indeed, to the simplicity of their confidence in those who proffered their services as spiritual shepherds of the people. Too often, indeed, it seems to be taken for granted that there cannot be a wolf in sheep’s clothing; and as an example of this lack of precaution he would cite his own case in the invitation that brought

him to his first regular settlement in Methuen, Mass., the legibility of his chirography being the determinative influence! For once, at least, the selecting in haste was not followed by repentance at leisure. In the November following, having accepted the call, he was installed pastor of the Methuen Universalist Church, and so began, in due form, his great work as a Christian preacher and pastor, in the Universalist branch of the Church of Christ on earth.

The pages which follow will make it appear that the distinct mission of Alonzo Ames Miner was administrative. Whatever his talents as thinker, whatever his abilities as a champion of the Universalist belief,—in both of which regards he stood high,—the two Hosea Ballous take the chief place as the constructors and shapers of Universalist opinion. All his life Mr. Miner was conservative, accepting new beliefs, or modifications of old beliefs, cautiously and slowly. But as respects the Universalist denomination, its intrinsic institutions and its auxiliaries, he was a leader among his brethren, opening up new paths, early discarding methods seen to be effete, and pushing boldly, at times to the discomfiture of his brethren, into experiment, and in the end usually justifying his courage by success.

At the opening of the Methuen pastorate Mr. Miner appears as a recognized and approved defender of the faith, and a champion of the ways and purposes of the Universalist denomination. It seems a needful preliminary to anything like an intelligible statement of Dr. Miner's life-work, that the antecedents and causes of the Universalist belief of the time, of the character

of the Universalism of the time, and the historic, and, in important respects, the logical, relations of Universalism to the older, particularly the Calvinistic, creeds, be briefly and succinctly outlined. Essentially, what was theological Universalism in 1840? Out of what had it come? What did it take with it from the other beliefs? and, as respects these, what did it discard? To the older Universalists an answer to these questions may not be needed, yet the answer will be quite sure of their interested attention. To younger Universalists the facts which a just answer must present are indispensable if they would rightly apprehend the service which Dr. Miner rendered both the theology of Universalism and the denomination of Universalists. The statement shall be as compact and brief as may seem practicable, yet considerable of detail is indispensable.

CHAPTER VI.

ANTECEDENTS OF MODERN UNIVERSALISM.

ONE who has shown greatness in leadership, in the having and the effectively using the talent to influence and practically to command his associates in an endeavor to accomplish an end deemed needful by all, cannot be understood except as he is seen in relation to the exigencies that have controlled him. In his "Life of Napoleon Bonaparte," Sir Walter Scott could not intelligibly give even the name of his hero until he had described, in considerable detail, the causes and initial operations of the French Revolution. The flower and fruitage must be studied with careful reference to the roots and fibres of the organism that finally buds and bears. But this most needful phase of biography involves serious difficulties. It is not an easy task to so reproduce an epoch that its character shall be made distinct and impressive to a generation that has had little or no contact, much less sympathetic relations, with the particular past. If these pages are to have any success in delineating the spirit, aims, and life-work of Alonzo A. Miner, they must at least make a strenuous effort to picture the particular, in some regards the peculiar, religious and social state of so-

ciety in which he first appeared, and which made upon him a deep and durable impress.

Had Martin Luther been born in the fourteenth or in the eighteenth century, the Luther of history as we now know him could have had no existence. The great leader of the Reformation was himself not simply as God made him, but as the dominant ecclesiastical and political agencies of his time moulded and directed him. The national conditions of our times make impossible another Cromwell, another Napoleon, another Washington. It is quite conceivable, it is within the limits of intelligible possibility, that a child shall be born with the same mental and moral qualities as had Hosea Ballou or William Ellery Channing, but in the new conditions of the theological and religious world another Ballou or another Channing, as we know or know of them, is an impossibility. Had A. A. Miner made his appearance a half century earlier or a half century later than his actual natal day, there can be little doubt that his impress and leadership would have been felt in his day and generation ; but there could not have been even an approximation to the presence and character that now rise before our inward vision at the mention of his name. Dr. Miner is the joint product of the boy and youth Miner, and the very marked religious beliefs, even systems of belief, that literally infected the atmosphere in his earlier, and also in his later days.

It is not till after considerable reflection that the present chapter and the one which immediately succeeds have been written ; for the author began and continues his work with, at least, the intention of giving no place

to matters that, in his own judgment, will not, directly or remotely, present in clearer characters and in complete outline the life he has undertaken to portray. Theological disquisition and ecclesiastical and sectarian annals have no rightful place here except as they are needful to a more intelligible and just biography of Alonzo Ames Miner. But a theologian and ecclesiastical and denominational worker and leader cannot be isolated from the disquisitions and annals which in large degree made him what he was, and which in turn and later were in good measure made by him.

The juncture at which this history has now arrived, the formal beginning of a work that was to lead, extend, in some regards mould, a great phase of Christian doctrine and life, seems to make needful a condensed sketch: first, of the *Antecedents of Modern Universalism*; second, a statement of *Essentials of Modern Universalism*, and third, *The Phases of Administration which it has Developed* — no small part of which A. A. Miner was.

It may not in the first impression seem much, when it is said that the doctrine of "Salvation by Grace" was the corner-stone of, in fact a pervading element in, the popular theology of New England up to the middle of the present century; the words of that dogma are even now in most of the creeds of the American churches, but the spirit has, in many communities — not in all, however¹ — largely departed therefrom. And again, it

¹ Wise and well-informed persons greatly differ in estimating the extent in which the nominal champions of the older creeds have departed from their spirit and letter. To not a few, the prestige of the New Orthodoxy, and of Andover as its principal support, is regarded as proof that the Old has become effete in the general community. To others, it

may not seem particularly pertinent to the end of this biography to emphasize the historic fact ; yet by its reaction, by the antagonism it evoked, it made Hosea Ballou ; it made substantially what he was every leader in the Universalist Church from John Murray down to Abel C. Thomas, Thomas B. Thayer, and Alonzo A. Miner. No description of this school of Universalist ministers, however vivid and accurate, can really convey the meaning to those ignorant of the peculiarity of the doctrine, and of its deep and strange effect upon the tempers as well as professions and conduct of the vast majority of the community in New England and the Middle States. Briefly stated this is the doctrine of "Salvation by Grace," as the words were understood by the old Calvinistic and Arminian divines. Because, as the result, of the disobedience of our first parents they and prospectively all their posterity lost favor with God, became totally sinful in every feeling and act ; they justly merited, and were doomed to, the pains of hell forever, and this so absolutely and unqualifiedly that were simple justice to be dealt to them, not a soul could

seems as if the leaven of the broader faith is restricted to particular communities, and that outside of these the Calvinism is as explicit and Pharisaic as it was fifty years ago. The statistics of the problem have never been gathered ; perhaps they "are past finding out." If regard, however, is had to current religious literature and the temper of the sermons that get into newspaper reports, and even books, the conclusion seems clear that the Orthodoxy that leads is new. The Old, indeed, seems to have triumphed in the Presbyterian Church, but the quality of it that gets into Presbyterian prints is indisputably a radical modification of the Old. The writer of this, however, is convinced that Universalists habitually overestimate the extent to which their sentiments have gone in modifying the older creeds and the temper of those who nominally avow faith in them.

or ever would have known and rejoiced in the great salvation. But on certain conditions God was willing to be merciful — to open *as a grace* a door of escape. Salvation therefore is not, cannot be, the right of any soul; one cannot by any act, however meritorious, win or claim deliverance from the awful doom; in every instance, in every particular, *it is a favor*, — an act of grace.

Historians tell us that the sententious creed, "There is one God and Mohammed is His prophet," infused a proselyting and fanatical virus into the very blood of all the millions who have professed and who now profess the faith of Islam, — a virus that evoked the spirit of conquest and of conversion by the sword, till nation after nation was brought not only to acknowledge the sway of the successors of the Prophet, but to become ferocious zealots of the creed of the Koran, converts counting it a privilege to die if their death could be made to extend and perpetuate its influence. Even so, that simple clause, "Salvation by Grace," has, for good or ill, made itself intensely felt in the mental and spiritual fibre of millions of both Calvinistic and Arminian schools, differentiating believers, by deep and almost immovable lines, from all others in the nominal Christian communities.

First of all, this doctrine, for logical reasons, impelled believers to draw between themselves and others the boundary that separates the righteous from the wicked — they, of course, being the accepted class. This distinction was indeed inclusive of the distinction between truth and error, between believers in the truth and be-

lievers in false doctrine ; but it was far more than this ; it was the distinction between the righteous and the ungodly. Those who accepted the "conditions of mercy," the conditions which made grace operative, at once joined the people of God, and those who refused the gracious offer, became—no, they remained—the children of Satan. "And what concord hath Christ with Belial? or what part hath he that believeth with an infidel?"

An incident in the boyhood life of the biographer will be excused if it serves to illustrate and impress the significance of this Pharisaic temper. At about the age of ten he had the friendship, and to some extent the affectionate guidance, of a schoolmate some years his senior. Passing him one day upon the village bridge, to his great grief and yet greater amazement, the elder not only refused to speak to him, but even turned his head away from him. Naturally seeking an explanation of conduct so strange, he was told, and in terms grave and significant: "Last week he was converted!" Up to that experience the two boys had been companions in the same household of the ungodly; now the elder had taken his place with the "brands snatched from the burning," while the younger was left behind in the company of the doomed. What more had he to do, what more was it possible for him, a brand new saint, to do with a ten-year old reprobate? The point here to be particularly emphasized is that the separating line of truth and error was quite subordinate. It was sincerely thought to be a separating line of saint from sinner. For the first half of this century, and for

periods farther remote, such was the presumed relation of the great mass of the so-called religious world to all outside the limits of saving faith.

Dr. Miner has told the writer many of his experiences in the earlier years of his ministry in Boston, that were examples of what has just been described. Two of these may be noted, giving no names though probably some reader of this will at once identify the parties. A scholarly Italian, brought up in the Catholic church, and educated for its priesthood, was led to doubt the legitimacy of papal pretensions, and ere long left with deep revolt the communion in which he had been reared. At the time he had little knowledge of the divisions existing in the Protestant world. He was led to accept, somewhat crudely, Universalist conclusions, with no suspicion that his new faith would be rudely stigmatized as a serious heresy, by any representative of the various sects. Coming to Boston he sought sympathy and counsel by calling upon the then most noted preacher in the Congregational churches. As he dilated upon the preposterous claims of the Catholic communion, of his revolt thereat, and of his entrance into the light of Protestant liberty and conviction, he was listened to with unmistakable sympathy. But as, proceeding with his recital, he innocently and unsuspectingly spoke of his Universalist proclivities, the expression and mien of the minister whose advice he was seeking, underwent a most sudden and even painful transformation. To his amazed visitor he abruptly and authoritatively said: "Down upon your knees!" Instantly the command was obeyed. Then there came a prayer, and such a prayer! It seemed as

if the identical Pharisee of the Gospel narrative had risen from the sleep of centuries. God was thanked that the poor foreigner had escaped the wiles of the Great Babylon, but his mercy was most vehemently sought for one yet deep in the gall of bitterness and in the companionship of the wicked! The "amen" spoken, the amazed visitor arose, took his hat and forgetting his Italian politeness, abruptly and with celerity fled from the presence!

In the other incident Mr. Miner — it dates as far back as 1846 — was personally involved. One day there came to him by mail a tract, the four pages of which succinctly outlined the soul-destroying errors of Universalism, and the malicious ingenuity of Universalist preachers wittingly and consciously the emissaries of the Evil One. "Read and ponder prayerfully," was written in ink upon the margin. The recipient of the tract felt sure that he identified the chirography, and his suspicions fixed upon a noted clergyman of the city. A few days after, passing down Beacon street, while abreast of the Athæneum he saw approaching him from Tremont Street the object of his suspicion. The latter affected not to see the gentleman whose soul he hoped to save through the agency of the tract, yet he virtually confessed to the contrary by abruptly crossing the street and disappearing down Somerset Street. A few weeks after both had seats, by accident, not far apart, on the platform of a temperance meeting. Said Dr. Miner in concluding the recital: "If he felt as his face indicated his feeling, my pity for him exceeded my contempt!" And yet what else could be the outcome of that doc-

trine of Salvation by Grace as the churches of the majority defined the words?

It is to be said that, in its way, the theology whereof this theory of grace was the central and interpretative principle, was the mightiest force for producing immediate and startlingly conspicuous results the religious world has ever known and felt. In the scholarly Finney, and in the coarse, even buffoonish Knapp, it was the inspiration of what were called "religious revivals," which, speedily operative among the more ignorant and reckless of the community, wrought astounding victories, changing the outwardly wicked into an outward semblance of piety, that made a study for the psychologist; some said, to set converts on the way to amendment of life; others said, to make them in the lapse of excitement seven-fold more the children of hell. In the way of popular agitation, transforming vast multitudes into characters new and strange, the theology of Salvation by Grace, as the words were understood, has had no equal for power in the history of the human mind and heart, save perhaps in the zeal of Urban II. and of Peter the Hermit to rescue the Holy Places from the hands of the Infidel, unless indeed it be in the Mohammedan frenzy in its earlier history. In this concession, which simple candor and the facts of history compel, the very important qualification is to be borne in mind — the "producing immediate and startlingly conspicuous results;" no judgment is here passed as to their enduring quality.

In marked contrast with this doctrine of Salvation by Grace, was that crudely shadowed forth by John

Murray, at times dimly apprehended by Elhanan Winchester, and first clearly seen and perspicuously stated by Hosea Ballou — salvation from sin of which every sinner was by his own act guilty, and from this rather than from its penalty, made effective by the unpurchased love of God and made manifest in the person of Jesus Christ. When the declaration “God commendeth His love toward us in that while we were yet sinners Christ died for us” and kindred and co-related scriptures were first distinctly apprehended, and their logical sequences traced by Hosea Ballou, the dogma of Salvation by Grace had, in vital particulars, a rival that was never to know compromise or essential modification, and which, in the elucidations of different thinkers in different schools of religious belief, was practically if not in formal concession, to displace its competitor even in schools under vows to resist the radical change. This totally distinct and different principle of religious belief, with the logical supplement that the salvation was wrought not by created love, or even by a love that was won, but which, eternal in the Divine Mind, was simply “commended,” could never cease its work of conquest until it had thoroughly and permanently established its reign in every heart of man, — was and is Christian Universalism.¹

¹ Should this book get the attention of persons not familiar with Universalist thought and its history, they are cautioned against the hasty inference that the doctrine in any true sense of the words was *original* with Murray or Ballou. To believe in final universal salvation as wrought out by the love of God as manifest in Jesus Christ is, of course, to believe that the doctrine is taught in the Bible, particularly in the New Testament. Its scholarly advocates have also contended, and in the opinion of nearly every Universalist with entire success, that the doctrine

The two systems of belief, the two interpretations of Christianity—which claimed the names of Orthodoxy and of Universalism — of course having much in common, certainly were in many regards quite dissimilar, and inevitably they were mutually hostile. Experience was soon to show, what from psychological data could easily have been inferred, that there was little in the Universalist conception of salvation and present duty, to “produce immediate and startlingly conspicuous results.” To those who have found life made bitter because of their having been reared to believe in the doctrine of unending woe, making them all their days anxious not alone in regard to their own immortal des-

of universal salvation was taught by, and may now be found in the writings of, the Greek Fathers of the first centuries, particularly Clement of Alexandria (160-220), yet more particularly Origen (185-254), and with great explicitness by Theodore of Mopsuestia (350-429). “In Christology Theodore was opposed to Augustinianism,”—the primitive Calvinism specially including the unity of the race in Adam whereby all his posterity fell in him and became innately and totally corrupt, making salvation exclusively a supernatural act and a grace,—“and then naturally approximated to Pelagianism,”—the doctrine that every soul is naturally good, capable of working its way to holiness without supernatural intervention or help, consequently including a denial of the dogma of the Fall in Adam, and hence of what is technically called Salvation by Grace — “though his position was indeterminate. Adam was created mortal. The human will, in its earthly environment, would necessarily be drawn into sin. Adam’s sin was not transmitted, and Christ’s work has for its object the enabling of a created and imperfect nature to realize the true end of its being, rather than the restoration of a ruined nature. *All intelligent beings were included in this purpose*, and it would consequently appear that Theodore taught the impossibility of eternal punishment.” *McClintock and Strong, Cyclopædia, Art. “Theodore of Mopsuestia.”*

The late Edward Beecher, D. D., pre-eminently the scholar of the Beecher family, and a specialist as regards beliefs held in the early epochs of the Christian Church, bears emphatic and reiterated testimony to the Universalism of the Greek Fathers. See Appendix I.

tiny, also, and even more painfully, in regard to the possible, often the probable, doom of those specially and intimately dear to them, the Universalist message often came as glad tidings of great joy, and, taken to heart, wrought changes that if not always sudden and "startling" were quite "conspicuous." An emergence from darkness to light, from bondage to the fear that hath torment, to the liberty of the fear that is the beginning of wisdom, can but be accompanied with outward and noticeable demonstrations, and with amendment in the temper and conduct of the new believer. Still, a faith that appeals to the affections has no power to evoke spasmodic and sensational results at all comparable to that which intensely appeals to the selfish fears. The cry of "fire" in a crowded theatre sends a thrill of horror and causes demonstrations in the screaming of the terror-stricken, the frantic rushing for the doors, and the trampling of the weaker under foot, for the description of which no language is at all adequate; while the subsequent cry of "no danger," followed it may be with a few expressions of thankfulness and manifestation of the sense of relief, soon leads to quiet and composure. The Kingdom of Heaven comes without observation. The life of peace and joy in the Holy Spirit is equable, with little audible ejaculation. Animal fear drives men and women to insanity; hope and faith may be deep, yet never express themselves in noisy emotion. What is here alleged may by some be regarded as confession; in fact, the avowal is made with satisfaction.

The advent of Universalism in American life had one accompaniment which was a misfortune, though not its

fault. The Pharisaic attitude towards the conspicuously careless and wicked, on the part of those who had been led to regard themselves as favorites of heaven, naturally led the proscribed class to give their sympathies to those who, perhaps in somewhat different terms, were, on account of their larger faith, also under a similar interdict. Very many were led to give their support to Universalism, and in social and verbal ways, to cast their lot with its believers, not because they had an appreciation of its principles, or felt in their hearts any response to its higher meanings, but because the spread of Universalism annoyed the "common enemy." A compound word, at the time in vogue, exactly expressed their feeling and attitude—they were "anti-Orthodox." Their friendship was well meant but it was superficial, being based on mere negations. It was natural to accept their support. But they were barnacles on the ship of the better faith, and they greatly prejudiced the word Universalism in the minds of not a few who were very far from being in sympathy with the teacher of the "salvation by grace." In a later day Dr. Miner did a lion's share in the positive, constructive work that had the effect of driving the unwelcome coadjutors into an estate of hostility, — at least of indifference.

As very many of the differences between the accepted Orthodoxy and Universalism were also contradictories, there was of course the conflict, not of the expedient and the inexpedient, but of truth and error: to this extent both parties were in agreement. In every particular in which distinctive Orthodoxy was assumed to be true, distinctive Universalism was of course untrue;

in every particular in which distinctive Universalism was assumed to be true, distinctive Orthodoxy was untrue; and the truth and the error did not pertain to physical science, to political economy, to the industrial or the æsthetic arts, but to the highest interests of the human soul, and hence they involved antagonisms that can never admit of amicable adjustments, or even a temporary truce—the antagonism between right and wrong, between holiness and sin, between God and the evil spirit personified as Satan: here again both parties were agreed. There are, indeed, very important truths which all religions—Heathen, Jew and Christian—hold in common: there is a larger number of important truths held alike by Catholic and Protestant: and the number is yet larger, far larger, which all the sects of Protestantism heartily accept. Looking at the opportunities in the light of the modern fraternities and coöperations, it may seem as if half a century ago Orthodox and Universalist might, without compromise, have magnified their agreements and minimized their differences. History, however, notes not what might or should have been, but what actually was; and it is the truth of history that, in that earlier time, both parties met for war far more frequently than for pacific coöperation in applying the part of Christianity which they held in common. Hence the staple of their mutual work was controversy. There was chronic war—a war of principles—the Universalist affirming the universality of God's Fatherhood; the Orthodox affirming that all save the elect, or the "converted," were the children of the devil. There was a war of texts; and the Parables of the Sheep and

Goats and the Rich Man and Lazarus, the case of Judas of whom it had been said that it had been good for him had he never been born, the passage describing the Sin against the Holy Ghost, and a few other examples given in the Book — the number was very small — and particularly the word *aion*, assumed and denied to be the Greek for eternity, and *aionion*, assumed and denied to be the Greek for unending duration,¹ and the words judgment, *gehenna* and *hades*, were perpetually on

¹ Though biography must not forget itself in attempting a treatise on theology, the need of just enough of this to give a distinct setting to one who was to take a commanding share in the endeavor to correct what was thought to be harmfully erroneous, in the popular beliefs of his time, will not be called in question. As respects the passage in Matthew xxv. 36, "And these shall go away into everlasting punishment but the righteous into life eternal" the Greek *aionion* — translated "everlasting" and "eternal," in Revised Version "eternal" in both clauses — is, of course, the salient word. Hence the bulk of the old-time controversy as to whether endless punishment is affirmed depended upon the meaning of *aion* and the Hebrew equivalent *olam*, the Universalists insisting that neither word has the meaning of eternity. After passing in review the classic use of the word *aion*, Dr. Edward Beecher, page 140 of his "History of Opinions," etc., adds: —

"I have thus shown that an appeal to the ancients, like that of Aristotle, can never sustain the assertion that eternity is the original sense of *aion*. I have shown that for many centuries this sense was unknown, and that it came in only in the later ages of the Greek language. To translate *aion* eternity in the passage of Aristotle which has been considered would do him a great wrong, for it would represent him as ignorantly contradicting the universal usages of those to whom he appeals."

Of the Hebrew equivalent Dr. Beecher, pages 141, 142 adds: —

"What then, is the meaning of *olam*? Is it eternity? I answer, no. It is derived from a verb denoting to hide, or to conceal, and denotes a period of time past or future, the boundaries of which are concealed, obscure, unseen, or unknown. So say Taylor and Fürst in their Hebrew Concordances. It is true of eternity, past and future, that their boundaries are unseen and unknown. But it is also true of other undefined periods that are not eternal, and that may be called ages or dispensations. Of *olam* thus viewed *aion* is the universal representative."

the rack of exegesis. Exegesis? It would be nearer the "truth of history" to say that while the Universalists habitually gave what they thought true expositions of the several passages and terms in dispute, their antagonists were content to take the inherited meanings for granted, contemptuously refusing to explain or give reasons, making the avowals matters of course. As every appetite grows by what it feeds upon, the perpetual controversy, of course, begot a love of controversy; and to say that the disputants always aimed, in judicial temper, to get at the simple truth, never actuated by an ambition to get a victory or what would pass for victory, would be to say that they were not human. Let it be said in passing that in the last two decades the much scouted Universalist expositions have been largely sustained by the Revised Version, and by such scholars as Edward Beecher, Tayler Lewis, and F. W. Farrar.

When Mr. Miner's ministry in Lowell began, the situation was of a nature to compel doctrinal explanation and elucidation, the exposition of certain Biblical passages, a constant protest against misrepresentation and particularly a defence of Universalism against the chronic charge that its tendency was immoral, and that failing "in the hour of death," it was in the "awful hour" usually renounced and condemned by those who in full health had been its most zealous defenders. The controversial temper had indeed begun slightly to wane, for the Knapp and Smith crusade had forced it to an unusual height, yet it was literally "on" and the faithful Universalist preacher always had his armor on for defence,

and the Sword of the Spirit and of truth drawn for aggressive endeavor.

Thus far only fundamental principles — Salvation by Grace on the one hand, and Salvation by Unpurchased and relentless Love on the other hand — have been outlined. The reader to whom the great subject is not familiar, is now urged to give patient attention to a more detailed summary of Universalist beliefs, and the history of their development — to the positive antecedents and outcome of Modern Universalism.

CHAPTER VII.

ESSENTIALS OF MODERN UNIVERSALISM.

UNIVERSALISTS believe that their distinctive tenet is as old as the Bible; that it is the kernel in the shell of the Abrahamic promises; that it was at least occult in many of the Prophetic utterances, even if not distinctly in the thought of the prophets; that it is in the words of Jesus and the Apostles; that it was the faith of the Greek Fathers; and that all through the many epochs of the Christian Church — sometimes very clearly, at other times vaguely — it has had its champions. But in the technical sense of the term, in which the doctrine of the final salvation of all souls is made to stand out with sharp distinctiveness, and to find believers anxious to be known as such, “standing up to be counted,” and asserting and applying the doctrine through the agencies of a distinct organization, it had no existence prior to the coming of Rev. John Murray to America in 1770. The adjective “Modern,” as applied to Universalism, will not therefore be regarded as a concession that the doctrine itself is at all new. The term “Modern,” however, has a somewhat specific meaning, being commonly used to denote the essential doctrines which first had expression in Ballou’s

“Treatise on Atonement.” The basal feature of Mr. Ballou’s teaching was, as further on will be explained, an explicit and total negation of the Calvinistic tenet of Salvation by Grace, he substituting in its place the doctrine of salvation by eternally operative Love manifested to the world by and through Jesus Christ. To a somewhat specific statement of this form of Universalism, with the earlier controversial accompaniments, the reader’s attention is now besought.

The first question in the Westminster Catechism, framed in 1646, is the following: “What is the chief and highest end of man?” The direct answer is: “*Man’s chief and highest end is to glorify God and fully to enjoy Him forever.*” This declaration is accepted by all Universalists as the tap-root, in fact, the essential substance, of Universalism, considered simply as a theology. The Westminster divines, however, connected with it other declarations which wholly negated its Universalistic character. Of these the principal, and which was the basis of the Calvinistic theology, was the dogma of the Fall in Adam, which logically gave a place for the doctrine explained in the preceding chapter,—that of Salvation by Grace. As will be remembered, the Salvation by Grace simply gave the lost sinner *an opportunity* to reinstate himself in the Divine favor. At this point a departure began near a century and a half ago, which, extending itself, and finally parting with the identical principle which set it in operation, led to the generic Universalism which, in ways somewhat special, Alonzo A. Miner championed, and, perhaps, more than any of his contemporaries,

compelled public sentiment to respect, even if it did not formally accept it.

About the year 1750, James Rely of England, a convert of Whitefield's, accepting the Westminster doctrine of the Fall, saw a fallacy in the limitation put upon the *efficacy* of Christ's sacrifice. In the same mystical sense in which all mankind were literally *in* Adam, they must be literally *in* Christ; hence, if the Fall literally lost all, the Grace must as literally have saved all. If in the primitive case there was an *actual* fall, so in the second case there is an *actual* recovery. He might well have added that the significant verse, Rom. v. 18, does *not* read, "For as by the offence of one, judgment *actually* came upon all men to condemnation, even so by the righteousness of one *it was made possible* that the free gift shall come upon all men unto justification of life;" and he might further have noted that the passage in 1 Cor. xv. 22 does *not* read, "For as in Adam all *actually* died, even so in Christ *is it made possible* that all shall be made alive," there being no limitation to the work of Christ any more than to the lapse in Adam. This was Relyan Universalism, the same that was preached in Good Luck, N. J., Gloucester and Boston, Mass., by John Murray in the last quarter of the last century.

When, however, in 1805 the first Hosea Ballou published his "Treatise on Atonement," there was introduced, as already intimated, what, without any straining of words, may be called a New Universalism, for in that remarkable work the author laid the axe at the root of the tree. Of course accepting the first declaration

of the Westminster divines, that man's chief end is to glorify God and enjoy him forever, he cast away as illogical and contrary to the Scriptures the whole theory of the Fall, and hence of the accompanying theory of the office or the need of what was called Grace. His basal postulate was that Christ, so far from being a *cause* of the Divine love, was, in fact, but a *medium through which* that love, always existing, was communicated to a sinful world. He thus at the crucial point entirely reversed the Westminster doctrine, and to this radically New Universalism he soon won the bulk of Universalist believers, as, at a later date, Dr. Bushnell won the bulk of the Congregational Orthodox, and no small proportion of the Presbyterian body, to essentially the same doctrine of Atonement.

The change from the notion of fiat salvation to that of salvation by influence, of course introduced into the Universalist body differences as respects the nature and scope of free-will; for it was by not a few retorted that the "shall be made alive" must not be so interpreted as to destroy the free agency of the sinner. Mr. Ballou met this objection or difficulty by what were deemed Necessitarian views of Divine sovereignty, winning the assent of a majority of Universalists to his position, though a large minority were firm in their dissent.

At a later date, Rev. Walter Balfour gave substantially new defences from the verbally Biblical side, of Universalism. In 1823 he published his "First Inquiry," in which, passing in review every passage in which the words Sheol, Hades, Tartarus, and Gehenna occur, — all translated Hell in the Authorized Version,

— he showed that in no instance is the word expressive of torment in the world succeeding death. Three years later he published his "Second Inquiry," in which he comments on the Scriptural doctrine of Devil, Satan, and Eternal and Everlasting as applied to punishment, refuting the current Orthodox notions as to the meanings of these terms. In somewhat different ways, coming to the subject from different points of view, Ballou and Balfour supplemented each other, and may be said to have outlined the Universalism that was in general acceptance when Alonzo Ames Miner was ordained in Nashua in 1839.

These very bald statements simply denote the framework of the Universalism of the time. Attention is solicited as the attempt is made to describe salient particulars, — those which the outline embraces, and those which logically and chronologically follow.

Every intellectual movement of sufficient force and character to impress its peculiarities upon the beliefs and practices of an age, certainly every vigorous modification in the philosophy and applications of morals, yet more distinctively every special development in the realm of Christian faith and conduct, will be quite sure to attest itself in three successive ways: it will begin with simple Affirmation; it will soon take on, or manifest itself through, Organization; and if of exceptional vitality and promise it will become Institutional.

Christianity itself made its beginning with simple statements of its nature, spirit and intent. Though the Founder characterized his "movement" as a "kingdom," and by other terms gave indications,— particularly

in the calling and commissioning the Twelve — of the incipency of an organization, the Organism in form must be said to have taken its date in the Apostolic period. What may properly be called its Institutions — its schools, its missionary enterprises, and its provisions for systematically qualifying preachers and pastors — came yet later ; at first somewhat vaguely, soon with great distinctiveness and with multitudinous departments. Between these generic divisions the line of demarkation is seldom sharp ; no two persons might give the same date when either took “ form and pressure ; ” the one estate shades into the other ; yet the distinctions described are actual, and in their advanced stages each has a sharp identity. Then, any one of the epochs named has its own subdivisions, no one abruptly departing from, or entering into, another, yet none the less making the peculiarity unmistakable. For an example: What is here distinguished as the epoch of Affirmation begins with very simple declarations as to what is thought to be newly discovered truth ; very soon, sensitively feeling its conflict with popular beliefs, it becomes controversial and argumentative ; later on, it takes the shape, usually the reality, of systematic inculcation, and notes its relation to the doctrines it seeks to supplant or modify, and so leaving the purely controversial and argumentative, it goes forward to construction in the way of teaching rather than of defending. Analogous differences will be found to characterize successive stages in the epoch of Organization, and also in that of Institution.

Different writers in the Universalist church, and those who are read with respect and deference, would, very

likely, draw the lines between its epochs and sub-epochs, each in terms and in places, peculiar to his way of thinking and classifying. It is however affirmed with unhesitating confidence, that the distinctions and successive stages here presented will be generally accepted as sufficiently accurate for practical needs. This biography was begun in the belief, growing stronger and yet stronger as these pages increase in number, that as the embodiment of the particular phases of work in the denomination of Universalists, the greatest man so far in the history of American Universalism, was Alonzo Ames Miner. It would however be folly to presume that this man did not have limitations; some of his warmest admirers would add that a few of these were quite notable. Evidently, it is the intent of the Maker of men that even His strongest child shall have the balance of strong weaknesses. The great man is rarely great all round. The greatest statesman of the Elizabethan Period, the teacher of statesmen, and the manager of monarchs, and chief among the creators of modern science, Francis Bacon, was the sport of his own menials, led by them, in simplest things, to say and do what they were too intelligent to say or do!¹ It rarely

¹ "Now neither in his life nor in his writings does Bacon indicate that he had studied individuals with this keen attentiveness" — that evinced by Shaftesbury on a certain occasion. "His knowledge of human nature was the result of the tranquil deposit, year after year, into his receptive and capacious intellect, of the facts of history and of his own wide experience of various kinds of life. These he pondered, classified, reduced to principles, and embodied in sentences which have ever since been quotable text for jurists, moralists, historians, and statesmen, and all the while his own servants were deceiving and plundering him, and his subordinates enriching themselves with bribes taken in his name." — *E. P. Whipple, The Literature of the Age of Elizabeth, Bacon.*

happens that the same mind is at once telescopic and microscopic: is not the one style of intellect exclusive of the other? As a worker in the quarry, as a thinker without suggestiveness from other thinkers, Hosea Ballou, first of the name, has had no peer among the Universalist thinkers of America: not a few will say, among any class of American thinkers. As a shaper and systematic placer of the boulders, the comprehensive scholar, alike by instinct and attainment, Hosea Ballou, 2d, D. D., first President of Tufts College, yet holds a first place in the estimate of all appreciative Universalists. As an orator, the late Edwin Hubbell Chapin, D. D., certainly held the first place among occupants of Universalist pulpits; has he had his peer in the pulpits of any church? Dr. Miner had little taste for, and was slow in showing favor to, the Biblical Criticism which has been so affluent and bewildering in the theology of the last two decades. But after every abatement, the number of Universalist movements in which he was often pioneer, and in most of which he had no peer, is so great and so commanding, that his title to the first place among the really great leaders of the Universalist church, few, if any, would think of disputing. To his present biographer, the claim presents itself without the shadow of a doubt.

When Mr. Miner entered the ministry what has been described as the simply Affirmative epoch of Universalism had been passed. The ingenious iterations of James Rely, reaffirmed by John Murray, the equivalent of what had been denominated "a hundred per cent. of Calvinism" — to the effect that the atonement through

Christ was, as has been noted, a fact and not simply an opportunity, the sacrifice on Calvary fully paying the debt, not simply giving the sinner the privilege of making payment, as also stated, — had been supplanted by the teachings of Hosea Ballou in his "Treatise on Atonement." The epoch of controversy and argumentation was, however, at its height. The basal principle of that wonderful work — that the atonement is the reconciliation of the sinner to God, and never in any sense the reconciliation of God to the sinner, the intent and effect of the sacrifice being not the turning of God's wrath into love, but simply the communicating of love eternally existing in the divine mind, to the sinful mind — was the Universalism of 1840, and is that of today.

In Mr. Ballou's "Treatise" however, are two incidents of argumentation, which had occasioned no little contention in the Universalist body — one, that according to Apostolic authorities sin had its origin in the flesh, and that there is no Scriptural affirmation that it can survive the flesh; the other, that as sin is the product of man's faculties, God being the Creator of those faculties, making them what they are, He must be regarded as the holy cause of that which has an unholy cause in man, whereby the evil which men intend is ordered and directed to good results, — a position, regarded as virtually a denial of the liberty, and hence of the responsibility, of the human will. It thence happened that, while few if any Universalists have hesitated to accept and rejoice in the basal teaching of the "Treatise," not a few thought at the time what nearly all Universalists

of the present day think, that the two particulars of argumentation just described were misapprehensions of Apostolic words, and not only needless, but harmful, accompaniments of Mr. Ballou's great inculcation. As time passes, as the date of the composing of the "Treatise" recedes into the past, Mr. Ballou's reputation as a sound and original thinker unmistakably increases; but his high reputation rests upon the essence of his argument, and not upon what is here characterized as its "incidents." The "accompaniments" had, however, the effect of producing a strong argumentative contention within the denomination, and great regret has been expressed by many that Mr. Ballou should encumber his remarkable book with such a notion of the origin of sin as would restrict its retributive effects to the life on earth, and also with a theory of Divine Sovereignty that seems to negative the freedom and accountability of man as a "moral agent."

In regard to the contention caused by Mr. Ballou's position touching freedom of the will, there was very little acrimony other than an emotional ejaculation incident to heated debate, the semblance of irritability subsiding with the particular discussion that occasioned it. The teachings of the Elder¹ Edwards in his "Essay

¹ The Elder and the Younger Edwards, both having the given name Jonathan, are habitually confounded by writers usually careful in making discriminations; very marked similarity between father and son have helped to increase the confusion. It was the elder Jonathan Edwards who, taking the cue from Locke's epoch-making "Essay on the Human Understanding," — thoroughly materialistic alike in premises and conclusions — produced the "epoch-making" Treatise on the Will. Though both father and son were college presidents, it has been found convenient to distinguish the elder as President Edwards, and the younger as Dr. Edwards.

on the Freedom of the Will," — regarded as a masterpiece of logic,— which cannot without forced charity be easily distinguished from the most rigid fatalism, had deeply impressed the theological mind, and so foreclosed prejudice against Mr. Ballou's opinions on that particular subject. But his habitual insistence that the Scriptures, which he declared to be his only authority, made no affirmation that sin shall survive the death of the body, that by their silence they seem to begin and end the reign of sin with the flesh, generally understood as a denial of future sin and retribution, occasioned intense revolt and vehement condemnation without the denomination, and a chronic and often bitter controversy within. All manner of depreciative epithets have been heaped upon the notion, "Death and Glory" being a favorite with dissenting Universalists: "From the Gallows to Heaven" being that of the enemy of Universalism.

Whatever judgment may be passed on Mr. Ballou's opinion or attitude in reference to punishment beyond the grave,— at this date it is safe to aver that very few Universalists accept it,— a very pertinent consideration should modify or temper all judgments as respects Mr. Ballou himself. When he was maturing his theology, and for the years of a generation succeeding, the laws of the human mind and conscience were not thought to be factors in the forming of religious beliefs. Human nature was presumed to be under obligation not only to accept the plain teachings of the Word, but, outside of the rules of grammar and of verbal definition, it was never thought of as having the right to interpret

or to define the boundaries of interpretation. At that time nothing was more common than contemptuous allusions to "human reason," usually characterized as "carnal." Though everybody, in one way or another, wisely or unwisely, was using his reason, nearly everybody was contemning reason as carnal and as delusive! The Catholic has used his reason — all except Catholics will say with egregious unwisdom — to establish papal claims of infallibility, and when Luther's protest set in successful operation what had long been the incipient Reformation, the Catholic exclamation was: "There, see what comes of your reason!" English Churchmen had reasoned themselves into the Supremacy of the Establishment; but when the Dissenters set up counter-claims, the Churchman's exclamation was: "There, see what comes of your reason!" When Moses Stuart bewailed the work of Theodore Parker, O. A. Brownson said to Stuart in substance: "Mr. Parker is your own work!" But, however inconsistent in so doing, reasoning as integral in the forming of a theology — integral in the particular of contributing any constituent to the theology — was mercilessly and arbitrarily ruled out as a pernicious interloper and a Satanic deceiver.

Hence, it follows that there was assumed to be no connection between the character of the soul at death, and its character immediately succeeding the shuffling off the mortal coil, other than it may have been thought to be verbally alleged in the Scriptures. Again, hence, it was generally assumed by all Protestants that destiny was arbitrarily fixed at bodily death; at that event all

who had complied with the "saving conditions" — and this all determinative act might take place just as, though not a second after, the breath left the body — "went straight to heaven;" only those who had failed to improve the opportunity, it might be, in the last moment of opportunity, "went straight to hell." A stanza of a familiar hymn, found in even the Calvinistic hymn-books, precisely states the almost universal presumption:

"Fight on, my soul, till *death*
Shall bring thee to thy God;
He'll take thee, *at thy parting breath*,
To His divine abode."

Consistently with this materialistic notion, the great endeavor was, and yet is, to prepare the criminal who was, or is, to suffer upon the gibbet for the instant change. He was told that no matter how deeply he may have imbued his hands with his brother's blood, no matter what the doom of his unrepentant victim, he has but to accept, even with his "parting breath," the offered mercy, and the fatal cord would separate his soul from its body, only that it might rise to the heavenly mansions. The taunts of "Death and Glory," of "From the Gallows to Heaven," thus came back upon the inventors. Mr. Ballou, original in so much, did not foresee the office of mental and moral philosophy, that has, in these latter days, come with such revolutionary force to old-time theological opinions in all the sects.¹

¹ Possibly an exception to this general implication should be noted in regard to the teachings of John Murray and Elhanan Winchester, the latter of whom took the name of Restorationist, both holding, though for very different reasons, to the doctrine of punishment after physical death.

However, the benefit which he and his exposition were entitled to on the ground that he simply applied to his conclusions the crude assumptions that were characteristic of all the creeds of his times, was never awarded, and the denomination has greatly, though unjustly, suffered from the incubus which the philosophic crudeness of the age in which he wrought, rather than he himself, fastened upon the denomination.

The great majority of Universalists half a century ago accepted what has been called the "Ballouian theory," — in fact, the Calvinistic theory, — which seemed to destroy all vital connection between character before death, and character immediately succeeding death; and it is to be feared that the majority were not over-tender in their treatment of the minority who protested against that particular "Ballouian" teaching. The minority, however, included ministers of great ability and influence, and these made it a matter of conscience to resist in every argumentative way the phase of doctrine that to them was very offensive. Believing that they could not get fair treatment within the denomination, a section of them seceded in 1832, taking the name of "The Massachusetts Association of Restorationists," accepting for substance the Winchester Profession, with the vital amendment, "We believe in retribution beyond death." The secession was not, however, destined to meet with success; a decade included

But with both these there was a negation of all psychological argumentation — with each it was exegesis in a peculiar style. Mr. Ballou's theory was a departure from both, and a very abrupt one. It might not have been a less actual departure, but it might have been less radical, had psychology been at the time an accepted factor in theological interpretations.

its whole history, its last session being held in 1841. The majority of those who accepted the additional clause formulated by the Restorationists, strongly dissenting from the policy of creating a new denomination, remained in hearty fellowship with the older denomination, doing this on the implied compromise, that the doctrine of retribution beyond the grave is a "minor question," the finality of universal salvation being the "major" and the test question, and, hence, that there should be mutual toleration and an "agreement to disagree."¹

Had this episode in Universalist history been written half a century ago, there would have been no occasion for the rather extended statement here presented, for at that time the principal facts were known and read of all Universalists. But to most Universalists of the present date they will doubtless have the character of novelty,—may, indeed, convey information, and the information in all of its essential details is absolutely

¹ The Rev. Thomas Whittemore, an intense opponent alike of the Restorationists and of Restorationism,—that form of it which includes the doctrine of future retribution,—in his "The Modern History of Universalism," published in 1830, makes this statement:—

"The doctrine of a limited future punishment, as a distinct question, has never excited a very general interest. For twenty years a difference of opinion has existed on this point; but the difference in itself has not been the cause of alienation of feeling, or disruption of fellowship. Brethren of different views meet together in love, and enjoy rich satisfaction in each other's counsel and society."

In view of the fact that the Restorationist secession befell but ten years later, Mr. Whittemore must have underestimated the "alienation." In the same connection he gives the principal passages on which the Restorationists based their belief in retribution after death; and then unwittingly betrays his feeling in regard to them, by dropping the character of the historian and taking on that of the exegete, by successively arguing the fallacy of Restorationist interpretations.

indispensable to all who would have the antecedents in the light of which the true character of Alonzo A. Miner, as a preacher, worker, and leader in the denomination of Universalists, can alone be apprehended. The contention within in regard to the Restorationist episode had nominally subsided when he entered the ministry, but the effects of it were still felt in less frequent and milder, yet in determined dissent from the particular beliefs called "Ballouian;" and those effects were, in certain ways, great influences in determining Mr. Miner's sympathies and argumentative habits. The contention in regard to Divine Sovereignty in its supposed inconsistency with the doctrine of Free-Will, always truly fraternal and kindly, was, however, profound, and destined to endure a full generation. Dr. Miner's attitude in regard thereto will be noted in another connection. The contention from without was at its height at the time of Mr. Miner's ordination; it was very bitter; it was Pharisaic on the one side, and not particularly courteous on the other. It was a controversy that almost excluded friendly feeling, and it was the parent of unsavory persecutions, and social, even political, proscriptions. Mr. Miner was Universalist in every drop of his blood, every molecule of his brain, every instinct of his soul; and he was a born warrior. What is here denominated the Controversial Epoch of Universalism was by no means inclusive of the all of A. A. Miner, but he unmistakably included the all of *it*.

The facts proper to this biography will be poorly told if the impression is anywhere made that its great subject in any particular echoed anybody. Dr. Miner took

no man's opinions without first making such tests of their reliability as his faculties qualified him to make. But he quickly and strongly felt the influence of leading and magnetic minds, particularly if brought into personal relations with them. His regard for Hosea Ballou amounted to veneration. As a boy, he had been taught to revere him as chief among the living apostles of Gospel truth. Very early in his ministry, he assisted that great man in conducting a service, and felt he had been highly honored. And in middle life he was associated with him as junior pastor, discharging all the duties of the pastorate in the Second Universalist Society, on School Street, Boston, each having the profoundest confidence in the other. But while in accord with Mr. Ballou in fundamentals of doctrine and exegesis, the junior pastor, as coming pages will show, differed widely from his senior in many particulars of duty and policy.

Soon after Mr. Miner's settlement in Lowell, the writer of this biography, then two years on the "sunny side" of twenty, had an interview with him in regard to the necessitarian reasonings of the fascinating "Treatise on the Divine Government," by T. Southward Smith, M. D. Mr. Miner no sooner detected the tendencies of his young visitor and parishioner towards extreme views of Divine Sovereignty, as taught in that masterly book, than he proceeded to lay the axe at the root of that heretical tree. After the lapse of so long a period his exact words cannot be recalled, but their substance is not forgotten. "No," said the then young man, "I object most decidedly to any speculation that virtually

destroys our moral accountability. I feel warranted in saying that I know that if I do wrong it is not because I am compelled to do the things that are wrong. I am free to choose evil or good ; I am not under compulsion to do either. I give my assent without reservation or hesitation to the freedom of the will, and to moral responsibility.”¹ These words or their equivalents may surprise readers who first knew Mr. Miner after his settlement in Boston. It is not to be said that subsequent and intimate relations with Mr. Ballou had operated to a substantial change of opinion, but it is certain that the confident assertion with which he opposed necessitarian views in 1842 had by 1850 given place to conjecture and to questions rather than explicit averments, and he gave the impression that he was the apologist of Mr. Ballou’s argumentation on the subject, and not its pronounced antagonist. He appeared to have lost interest in the discussion which in his youth he was prompt to begin. As respects this particular phase of the very earnest though generally fraternal “contention within,” he made no record ; in fact, he became

¹ About a week after the text was written, Rev. L. C. Browne, of Honeoye Falls, N. Y., who knew Dr. Miner very intimately for more than half a century, having occasion to write to the biographer in reference to another matter, incidentally and most fortunately volunteered the following, strictly confirmatory, as will be seen, of the recollection that has been sketched :—

“Dr. Miner and Father Ballou differed on the doctrine of Necessity. Father Ballou held that everybody and every act is governed by *motives*. God was *moved* to create the universe for the sake of giving life and endless happiness to his intelligent offspring. Miner rejoined that before the creation of the universe there was nothing but God—nothing outside of Him by which He could be moved. Miner told me of having this argument with Ballou.”

adverse to it. In his subsequent labors and discussions in the many phases of reform, no man since the days of the Apostles presumed more upon the fact of moral evil, and upon the accountability of evil-doers, than did Dr. Miner; this will appear with great distinctness in what will be found in other pages of this biography. Of the doctrine of free-will in the concrete he was always an unflinching, often a most vehement champion. But as he entered upon middle life the doctrine in the abstract was not congenial to him; it incited him to ask questions rather than to lay down propositions.¹

The files of Universalist periodicals up to about 1860 may surprise youngest readers by the great prominence given to this theme, certainly philosophical in its principles, and very practical in the bearing of these principles upon conduct. As respects the controversial treat-

¹ The chronic discussion which the text describes, though speculative, and in some of its phases what is called "dry," was often enlivened by flashes of humor that amused, even if they did not always make the point clear. One example is recalled. Dr. Whittemore, of "The Trumpet," in his frequent attempts to neutralize the objection urged against the unqualified affirmation of Divine Sovereignty as bearing on "whatsoever came to pass," that it logically made God the author of sin, habitually distinguished between "sin" and "*sin as sin*," — the single word denoting the evil act in its relation to God, the triple words, its relation to man. In his frequent contests with Dr. Whittemore on the subject, Dr. Sawyer, getting rather tired of this, to him, distinction of words where, as he thought, there could be no difference of things, insisted on a categorical and explicit answer to the question: "Will you please inform me what makes the difference between 'sin' and '*sin as sin*'?" The great, even remarkable gifts of Dr. Whittemore were not thought, even by his admirers, to include in any large degree the speculative talent, and while the sharp point about Dr. Sawyer's question was not exactly clear to him, it made many thousands laugh; and the obvious wonderment on the part of his antagonist as to what the point could be, added not a little to the merriment.

ment of it, the mantle of Hosea Ballou fell upon the late Dr. I. D. Williamson, whose extended and elaborate and very exhilarating controversy with Dr. T. J. Sawyer, yet living and yet active at very venerable years, made for months the theme of themes in the Universalist papers. Thomas Whittemore in his paper, "The Trumpet and Universalist Magazine," was an ardent supporter of the views put forth by Mr. Ballou; while Dr. Hosea Ballou, 2d, the first President of Tuft's College and first editor of "The Universalist Quarterly," was a master thinker and writer in opposition to the theory of the first Ballou. It was reserved to Dr. Miner to make many and great contributions to the prestige of the Universalist denomination; but the now effete and forgotten, but once very dominant, theme of Sovereignty and Free-Will received very little from either his voice or his pen.

In regard to the contention within the denomination, Dr. Miner — as subsequent pages are to show and emphasize — faithfully kept the unwritten compact, — the agreement to disagree, and was tolerant of both or all parties. His relations with each and all were fraternal. If one was "sound on the main point," to revive a phrase at the time habitually in use, that point being the ultimate salvation of all souls from sin and pain, and this through the love of God manifest in Jesus Christ, he had no interest in the matter other than that of the natural propensity to exchange opinions and comments; in truth, his only censure, and this was put in strongest terms, was for those who made the "minor" differences occasion to stir up strife among the brethren.

As regards, however, the contention without, — that which put the Universalist faith on the defence, and evoked the active and often unjust assaults of the devotees of the popular creeds and churches, — he never knew how or when to rest upon his oars ; how or when to mitigate the intensity of his zeal in maintaining what he deemed the right ; how or when to lay the armor down. He was not only a believer in Universalism, but a warrior in its camp. His theological foes knew just where to find him ; they did not always know exactly what they were to find until after the contest ; in fact they often made discoveries that were as humiliating to their sectarian pride and Pharisaic presumption, as they were surprising. This particular contention cannot, however, be singled out for distinct and detailed description. It is at once warp and woof in his long and amazingly industrious denominational history. It holds many particulars ; it cannot, however, be treated as a particular.



UNIVERSALIST CHURCH, METHUEN.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE METHUEN PASTORATE.

THE denominational work of Alonzo Ames Miner, his effective service as a Universalist minister, as stated in the preceding chapter, may be said to have begun in the month of November, 1839,—specifically in his acceptance of a call to the pastorate of the Universalist Church in Methuen, Mass. Previous to entering upon this new duty, his ministerial labor had been scattered, itinerant, and with little of the pastoral accompaniments: it had been an avocation rather than a vocation,—a training period preparatory for regular and efficient service. On entering the Methuen pulpit as its chosen incumbent, the ministry, never exclusive of all other interests, became first and foremost, and so remained to the end of his earthly career. He went to Methuen no longer a novice, but a tested and approved workman in his Master's service,—a “workman who needeth not be ashamed” of his equipment. Avocations were to come, must come, to the many-sided man. No parish, no sect, no party, could furnish avenues for his full ambition to be useful. But “on and after” November, 1839, the Universalist ministry gave to A. A. Miner his supreme vocation. He stepped at once into the setting of antecedent, consequent, and corollary

which have been described in the two chapters immediately preceding, and became earnest in the work, yes, and in the strife.

Particulars have been given of Mr. Miner's baptism and ordination on occasion of the annual session of the New Hampshire Universalist Convention, held at Nashua in June, 1839. The settlement in charge of a particular parish was, of course, the occasion of a service of installation. This took place the November following. The community was deeply interested in the event, and thronged the lofty and steep steps that led to the church. Rev. Otis A. Skinner, a friend of Mr. Miner's youth, at one time his teacher in the district school, read the Scriptures and preached the sermon; the introductory prayer was offered, and the Scriptures were presented with the accompanying charge, by Rev. Henry Bacon; the prayer of installation was offered by Rev. Henry Jewell; the right hand of fellowship was extended by Rev. S. P. Landers; the address to the Society was by Rev. Thomas B. Thayer, who also offered the concluding prayer; the benediction was pronounced by the pastor. With the approval of his brethren, and with assurance of their sympathy and help, Mr. Miner then began "in due form," and with earnest and solemn purpose, his active ministry in the town of Methuen.

Particulars make it appear that at the time of his installation Universalism had made inroads upon the older churches, and had occasioned alarm, leading to what in these days would be called a "syndicate" for its systematic, organized suppression. Orthodox Congregationalists, Baptists, Methodists, Episcopalians even,

for the exigency, suppressed their differences, and worked together for the extermination of the Universalist heresy, — it may be added, in passing, with the not unusual result of extending and making stronger the foe at whose life they so confidently aimed. The Rev. Matthew Hale Smith, of strange and even eccentric antecedents, was selected as the instrument through whom the crusade was to be made effective. He had been pastor of the Universalist Church in the historic city of Salem. A man of versatile abilities, quick of thought rather than profound, of graceful address and fluent diction, he had been signally successful in drawing large congregations to his church, and in making personal friends. There need be no occasion here to give the particulars antecedent to his renunciation of Universalism, of his renouncing his renunciation, and then of the resuming of his renunciation. It will be sufficient to say that his second renunciation of Universalism held firm, and was followed by a most determined spirit of opposition to his former co-workers, and by his entering the field as author, lecturer, and preacher, in order to destroy the cause for the building up of which he had been ordained. The “syndicate” gave him his opportunity, and in various communities the pulpits were open to him, and the several congregations of city or town met in a single assembly to give him sympathetic hearing.

The postulate at the base of Mr. Smith’s attacks on his former creed and associates was to the effect that Universalism is but covert infidelity; that it “opens the flood-gates of iniquity;” that it is destructive of the spirit of worship, impious in thought, and the cause

of impiety. The postulate was nominally sustained by what were iterated as facts in the lives of noted Universalists, and the "calling of names" was a dominant feature.

The schedule of Mr. Smith's crusade had a place for Methuen, and his visitation became the important and historical occasion of giving the first opportunity to Mr. Miner to arrest public attention by an almost startling exhibition, in the beginning of his ministry, of the fearlessness—amounting, some would say, to audacity—that in later years was to amaze and compel the admiration of a commonwealth—of commonwealths. Mr. Smith gave his lecture in the Congregational Church, the pastor and other ministers being in the pulpit with him. Of course the "demoralizing tendency" of Universalist doctrine was asserted and dilated upon in the eloquent and impressive style whereof the lecturer was an unchallenged master. In the way of specification, example in proof, he read from the Universalist organ, "The Trumpet and Universalist Magazine," published in Boston, a statement to the effect that a certain Universalist Society had loaned the use of its church edifice to a dramatic company for the purpose of giving a public entertainment. Such a use of a house of worship by a company of professional actors at the present day would be sufficiently scandalous, but half a century ago it could but seem a sacrilege bordering on blasphemy. Of course the impression must have been prejudicial in the extreme. But no mention was made of the fact that the scandal was exceptional; nor of another fact of which there was proof, that the Universalist

people felt and expressed a righteous indignation that certain persons, taking the denominational name, had brought the humiliation upon them. It was, in fact, the irresponsible act of a few whom no discipline could reach. At that time the Universalist Societies were held together very loosely, actually, if not formally, under the Congregational system. As these lines are being written, a gross impropriety on the part of managers and minister of a Congregational Church is giving matter for ridicule to the secular press, and an occasion for interference by the Legislature. But under the Congregational order, no other Congregational Church is at all responsible, and no one thinks of making other churches partners in the wrong. This, however, is not all, nor is it principal, in the alleviations of the dramatic episode. Rev. Thomas Whittemore, editor of "The Trumpet," placed directly under the statement a paragraph indignantly rebuking the society for the wrong that was so prejudicial to the Universalist name. But of this disclaiming of responsibility, and of the righteous censure, the lecturer made no mention. The only impression that could have been made, was to the effect that such a prostitution of a house of worship was characteristic of Universalists.

The "meeting house" belonging to Mr. Smith and the pastor, without their consent no one had a legal right to utter an audible word. None the less, a tall young man, in the person of Alonzo A. Miner — who was present with many of his people — arose, filled indeed with a holy indignation yet without any symptom of being overawed by the presence or the occasion, and in distinct accents

gave notice that on the succeeding Sunday evening he would reply to the lecture in the Universalist church. Of course there was a commotion within the church, which very soon made itself felt all over the town. When the next Sunday evening came it found the Universalist church crowded to the uttermost, no small contingent of the other churches being in the congregation. The full statement was made, and the unjust prejudice was removed from all candid minds. It was made evident to all, that Universalism had a defender in the town, and one sure to compel respect and confidence. The giving the notice then and there, was the courage of an incensed conscience. In the episode Mr. Miner gave early proof of the fidelity to conviction and the duty of the moment, which the community was to know of quite frequently. Luther dared to beard the lion in his den. He would face his accusers at Worms though "there were as many devils opposed to him as there were tiles on the roofs of the houses." There was never an hour in the career of Alonzo A. Miner when in a similar exigency he would not have shown himself a Luther. It may seem a small incident which is here narrated, with some fulness, but the incident photographs not wholly in miniature, the character of the man which these pages are struggling in an endeavor to portray.

This early conflict with a hostile combination of sectarian foes is represented in the crucial particular. Thus the period of Mr. Miner's pastorate in Methuen was in what in another connection is described as a "controversial epoch," the Universalist minister being

perpetually on the defence. That the Universalist champion "held the fort" and, as occasion called, buckled on the armor alike for defence and attack, might be safely inferred; but the "example in proof" just described is one out of many similar examples. A particular occasion brought out in a most effective manner the talent in which Mr. Miner seldom found his peer — the instant retort that went directly to the quick. The doctrine of "No Change after Death" was thought to be the rock of stumbling to the Universalist; and in controversy the changes were rung upon it as if no rebutting word were even conceivable. The Universalist knew, the fact was often brought to his personal observation, that very bad people, even blasphemers, died, giving no sign or proof that their "peace had been made with God," in the sense of having repented of their sins and receiving pardon therefor. What was thought to be Scripture but which in fact is not in the Book, was solemnly and triumphantly cited: "As death leaves us, so judgment finds us" — there is "no change after death."

A union temperance meeting was held in the Baptist Church, Mr. Miner being one of the speakers. Good sense, not to say good manners, would, on such an occasion, have suppressed any temptation to make a sectarian attack. But half a century ago prejudice was often too strong to pass by an opportunity to give Universalism what might be thought a hard blow, and this regardless of the canons of taste or good manners. After Mr. Miner had made his address one of the ministers present saw what he thought was a great opportunity; though he

was soon to discover that his thought had woefully misled him. With "a flourish of trumpets," he flung at the Universalist minister this question: "What will you do with a man who dies dead-drunk?" Quick as a flash of light came the answer: "According to your doctrine of 'no change after death,' he must for all eternity remain dead-drunk." The fool was answered according to his folly. However well or ill the answer met the objection that had been implied in the unseasonable question, it certainly left a serious burden of proof on the person who put it. He must have felt, even if he did not clearly see, that his doctrine of "no change after death" was to be held with very serious limitations.

It will appear in subsequent pages that Mr. Miner, if he did not take the initiative, was very near those who did, in an enterprise that was destined to become at a not late day, a dominant phase of Universalist work,—that of Home Missions, or, as it is not infrequently called, Church Extension. But he was a missionary from the first,—that is, he supplemented his parish duties with five o'clock Sunday services in district schoolhouses, two, three, and five miles away. Within the limits of his health and strength, and too often beyond those limits, he never evaded work that could serve the cause; whenever and wherever the door of opportunity opened, he was, like the Apostle to the Gentiles, impelled to preach the reconciling word. So began his ministry in Methuen; so it continued to the end. The maximum of pay and the minimum of work as a rule of ministerial service, he could never comprehend. Those five o'clock forays into the outlying

districts, after the two services in his church, were a severe tax upon his physical strength, but not to have made them would have been to him the real sacrifice. Who can tell into how many minds and hearts he thus dropped the seeds of truth to spring up and bear fruit in righteous measure, but of which no audible report was ever to be made?

The exigency which gave occasion for the Universalist movement in America, and the circumstances which at the outset made it principally a protest against the doctrine of endless misery and a proclamation of the final redemption of all souls, are described in other pages of this book. Its very exclusive doctrinal character was, however, quite temporary; of course it was, for no sect or church can rest on negation, nor yet on bare postulates of belief. Having vitality in itself the movement was destined to take on the organization, and to work through the ordinances, of the church, for the same reason that a living tree covers itself with bark, and puts forth branches and twigs, buds and fruitage. Dr. Miner was far from being a pioneer in this stage of denominational development. He came to it however by intuition. Never won by the display of man-made formularies, he at the outset of his ministry in Methuen, recognized the simple forms that apparently had the sanction of Christ and the apostles, as coming in the accents alike of invitation and command. The Society that did not include or take with it the visible church with its ordinances and sacraments, did not, in his thought, have the full character of a Christian organization. The "parish for Christian work" must take with it

the offices and the pledges of a branch of the Church of Christ. He was not long at his work in Methuen before consummating a purpose which he brought with him — a church organization was formed, and the sacrament of the Lord's Supper was duly and regularly observed. In regard to the method of taking the church vows, he saw little that was authoritative; for most part this might be left to the election of the candidate; yet baptism by immersion seemed to him, at this early period, solemn and impressive, and as four of the applicants for membership desired to be received in this public manner, he was more than willing to comply. The service proved the occasion of an unfriendly demonstration that at this date would seldom be imitated: the use of the baptismal robes in possession of the local Baptist church was solicited and — refused! Thus at every turn, no matter what the occasion, the "epoch of controversy" would make some pitiful exhibition of its unfraternal, its evil side.¹

The Methuen pastorate of little more than two and a half years was, beyond the episodes narrated, without very notable incident. The village, though not particu-

¹ The bitterness of the antagonism to Universalism, characteristic of the time, had characteristic exhibition in allusion to this baptismal service made by the pastor of one of the Methuen churches, who called it a "solemn mockery," "a foul imitation of God's ordinance," the "stealing the garb of Christianity." The same clergyman had warned his people "not to sanction the ungodly procedure by their presence"; in reference to which warning, Mr. Miner had occasion to remark, "Judging, however, from the multitudes that thronged the banks at the water-side, we must infer that the gentleman had not yet acquired the Pope's reputation for infallibility, inasmuch as I noticed some of his congregation in the crowd, who, by their reverent attention and tearful eye, showed an evident interest in the scene."

larly small, was simply a village, and was not in near connection with any municipality,—the city of Lawrence, destined to embrace a part of its territory, did not at the time so much as exist in thought. It could give no scope for ministerial ambition; the usual incident of clerical life, the “school committee-man,” was the only diversion, and to that honorable post Mr. Miner was soon called. In the short period of his residence in the town he was learning how to be more and more effectively what in his childhood he hoped to become,—a Christian minister. The lesson, however, was easily and rapidly learned. It was impossible that such a man could be ignorant of his pulpit talents. The great spell which his presence and commanding eloquence were to cast upon large assemblies in coming years was felt at the outset of his chosen vocation. He could not fail to be conscious of the gift which his parishioners so distinctly noted and to which they bore enthusiastic testimony.

Mr. Miner was not destined, however, to learn late and by humiliating experience, as has been the unhappy fate of too many, that preaching, even if accompanied with Apostolic fervor and Ciceronian rhetoric, can never of its simple self build into a parish or a church the congregation that for a time it may draw. Unless the members of a congregation are led to feel their mutual dependence, to recognize mutual obligations, to have a deep sense of co-related sympathy—every member sharing somewhat in the joys and woes, hopes and anxieties, of every other, all being knit into a family relationship, it will hold together just as long as the

outside pressure coming from the gifted incumbent of the pulpit can prevent their scattering. There are not many examples of even a large congregation being firmly held by pulpit eloquence. It may be doubted if there is an instance on record where the congregation has remained after its pulpit idol has left. The successor has, as a quite general rule, been forced to start his work very near the beginning.

Those who knew Dr. Miner only in his later years have known or heard of him as an extemporaneous preacher. Possibly, probably, the readiness with which words came at his call, the strong intellectual vision which held him to his thought, his marvellous memory, the quickness with which he seized upon dominant thoughts and pertinent facts, along with the management of affairs that early befell him in towering measure, led him too early, it must be said, into extempore ways: it should in candor be added that he habitually, and often laboriously, prepared "skeletons." He did not, however, make the fatal mistake of instantly starting out to "speak without notes," or even without the complete manuscript. While in Methuen he usually wrote his sermons in full. Not sitting at, but standing to, a high desk, a custom forced upon him by a stomach injury received from a horse — sad to say, the "noblest of animals" was destined to bring him to harm many a time and oft, possibly to the crisis that at last proved fatal — the sermon was carefully and legibly put into manuscript. Finished, the next duty came, a "rehearsal," — he regularly read the sermon to Mrs. Miner, to whom befell the self-determined duty next in order, that of selecting the appropriate hymns.

Mr. Miner's work in Methuen, always serious and dignified, was not without alleviations in the lighter vein. In the first months of the settlement the pastor and wife boarded with Mr. and Mrs. John Low, the keepers of the village tavern, who often took occasion to speak of their "pleasant boarders." Near the tavern was the village hall, where the Ladies' Sewing Circle held regular meetings. Almost as regularly as the Circle had a session the pastor and his wife were present, and the occasion was made peculiarly pleasant by Mr. Miner's custom of reading something of interest to the company. There was another custom connected with that hall that may surprise, and perhaps amuse, most of the readers of this paragraph. He had a strong ambition to excel in the use of the bass-viol! Almost uniformly after the dinner hour, in company with a friend, he went to the hall to "practise" on the stringed instrument, both of them singing as the preacher pulled and pushed the bow with one hand while the fingers of the other manipulated the strings of the bulky instrument. Not many years ago, as possibly a few readers may remember, in an impromptu talk to a social company in the Lecture Room of the Church on Columbus Avenue, he convulsed both himself and his auditors, and particularly the Rev. Dr. John G. Adams, who was present, by telling how he on the double-bass and his brother Adams on some other instrument, startled the ears of a company of friends with notes not any too gentle and harmonious. The biographer remembers one occasion in the long ago, that of detecting Mr. Miner with a violin in hand, and the bow making rather discordant notes. The enter-

tainment came to an abrupt close, not because the execution was anything out of the way, but because it was not particularly good. However, cares and duties rapidly multiplying, the stringed instruments were soon relegated to an estate of neglect.

There was another discussion or entertainment in which Mr. Miner found relief, of a kind, however, not restricted to Methuen, but enjoyed wherever he lived or sojourned or visited. Just when and where his marvellous love of children and his not less marvellous fascination over them "broke out," is not matter of record. But the love and the fascination were memorable features of the Methuen pastorate. If a new immortal came to these earthly shores in any family of his parish he was impatient to give the stranger a welcome. Often would he put on his hat and start on the call, to be rigidly reminded by Mrs. Miner: "Why, Alonzo, not yet!" A Methuen lady writes: "It has always been one of my brag stories that Mr. Miner was my first gentleman caller. At the time I was just forty-eight hours old."¹

¹ The same informant adds this touching incident which silently testifies to the hold Mr. Miner had on the hearts of parents.

"A few days ago I was walking in the burying ground near our home and the name of Alonzo Miner on a headstone caught my eye. The following is the inscription as it was cut in the dark slate stone:

'ELLEN SOPHIA,
Died Oct. 26, 1838,
Æt 8 m. & 12 days.
ALONZO MINER,
Died Sept. 28, 1842,
Æt 4m. & 18 days.
Children of
Stephen &
Sophia C.
Bodwell.' "

It has been noted that preaching alone, no matter how attractive, cannot make a congregation permanent: the pastor must supplement the preacher's words. The Methuen pastorate was literally a pastorate. The first thing to arrest Mr. Miner's eye as the Sunday service began was a usually occupied pew, for the day, empty. He felt it his duty in discreet ways "to know the reason why." If illness was the cause he had an imperative duty. If indifference or other trivial cause was the explanation, still he felt that he had a duty; and it was not long before the tall form of the young pastor was knocking at the door. It rarely failed that proper attention and the right word rightly spoken had the proper effect. Certainly no family or individual ever withdrew attendance from the services of the sanctuary through any neglect of the pastor. It required of him no study to be assured that for successful work in a parish or church, the pastor and preacher are as the two blades of the shears, each supplementary to the other — rather, each jointly operating with the other. From the first week of his entrance upon the Methuen pastorate he literally made it true to its name. He made no perfunctory "calls," but he made calls that were truly visits, unpretentiously attesting a genuine interest in, and sympathy with, his people. Usually accompanied by his wife, — from the first to the last Mrs. Miner was heart, mind, and hand in her husband's work, seemingly living for no other end than that of helping him in his chosen office — he made visits to the aged, the infirm, the sick, the dying, the bereaved, and all whom his word and spirit could strengthen and cheer.

His biographer thinks he knows, without being told, that this high and holy part of his vocation was never irksome to him. He may indeed have thought it his duty, part of the pastoral contract, but it was a duty that he loved, a "contract" which it was a sacred pleasure to fulfil. What is here given as knowledge is, however, abundantly sustained by witnesses and by traditions. Testimony, specific and reiterated, has come to the writer of these pages from persons living in Methuen, relating what their parents and elders said in their hearing. One example may be recorded. An elderly gentleman, one of the fathers of the parish, was for many years a victim, obviously a hopeless one, of consumption. Mr. and Mrs. Miner frequently visited him, and read and sang to him. One day they sang the hymn, evidently suggested by an event that was visibly approaching : —

"I would not live away,
I ask not to stay," etc.

The impression made on the patient sufferer was very deep, filling his heart with the joy of hope, and as often as the call was renewed would the sufferer call for the same hymn, and as often the pastor and wife were only too happy to respond. Very soon the aged saint passed from earth, and the pastor and wife sang the same hymn at the funeral service.

That the ministry in Methuen must have been one of consolation has an incidental exemplification in an experience quite personal to the writer of this biography; and which, if not fully sequential in this connection, may have an interest for the reader, as in later years it had

for Dr. Miner. In the autumn of 1841, a severe and dangerous illness prostrated him (the writer), the disease being frequently fatal. While resting upon his pillow, the September sun shining through the window, he was wondering, not at all anxiously, as to the outcome of an ailment that had taken from him most of his strength, when the denominational paper, "The Trumpet and Universalist Magazine," came, and in it a sermon "by Rev. A. A. Miner." The name was wholly new and strange. The text, "Because I live ye shall live also," unmistakably pre-announced a sermon of consolation. The patient, under instructions to avoid reading, could not resist the temptation, and, with no little physical exhaustion on his part, the sermon was gradually and slowly not so much read as absorbed. It was to one in the shadow of death a balm of Gilead. The autumnal rays shone more resplendently. The sick-room had the halo of paradise. It had healing in its words — was medicine to the soul. More than the years of a generation later, Dr. Miner and that "patient" met on the occasion of the dedication of the Universalist church in South Newmarket, — now Newfields, — N. H. The two returned in company to Boston, and for the first time the story of that sermon and of what it did for the young man, was told him. He was, of course, greatly and obviously surprised, and also deeply moved. His words in response can never be forgotten: "I remember that sermon well, and the doubt I had whether the editor of 'The Trumpet' would think it worth the printing. This is the first time I have heard from it or had any reason to hope that it did anybody any good. And

this from you! Why, the story makes me happy. How true it is that we seldom know what our preaching does." Suppose that all the persons whom Dr. Miner's sermons have strengthened and comforted could have told him their experiences: would not his joy have been full?

There is much that is weirdly beautiful in the memories of the pastorate in the beautiful town—in the unreserved consecration of the minister to every department of his high vocation; the fidelity with which he preached the Gospel of Glad Tidings, yet most sensitive to any departure from rectitude, and vigilant and searching in rebuke of sin and evil ways; in the devotion of the people to the pastor in whom their confidence was entire and for whom their respect was hardly less than reverence; in the love of the children and reverence for the man who was their companion not less than their Christian instructor and guide; and in the radiance that filled the chamber of sickness and of bereavement when the good man entered with words of consolation. These indeed were characteristics of his ministry to the hour of his decease; but in the beautiful country village, where the simple habits of the people, without ostentation even in the homes of the favorites of fortune, and where as yet the hundred trespassers on his time, calling him in all directions to serve in all manner of useful ways, had not found the man of all work who never could say no to a solicitation that meant service, the pastoral vocation in Mr. Miner in Methuen showed itself in isolated beauty and attractiveness. The memory recalls the pictures which Dryden and Goldsmith

knew how to paint. Persons uninformed as to what Universalism essentially is, may fancy that one clause in Dryden's characterization of the good parson, is seriously inappropriate as applied to a Universalist minister. On the contrary, there never was a time when ministers of the type of this Methuen pastor had other than the most unhesitating belief in what they regarded as the Bible doctrine of the "pains of hell" — hell as the symbol of just retribution for sin, from which there is no escape until the utmost farthing of penal obligation is paid: the Calvinistic conception of hell as literally a place and not simply an estate of misery, and this unending, having no merciful intent, they regard as hardly less than a travesty on the Scriptural teaching and as a monstrous aspersion alike of the Divine justice and goodness. These lines need no modification as descriptive of the occupant of the Universalist pulpit in the quiet village that borders the beautiful Merrimac: —

"He bore his great commission in his look;
But sweetly tempered awe, and softened all he spoke.
He preached the joys of heaven and pains of hell,
And warned the sinner with becoming zeal;
But on eternal mercy loved to dwell.
He taught the gospel rather than the law;
And forced himself to drive; but loved to draw."

Most of the familiar lines of Goldsmith are hardly less pertinent, but a few of them read as if the Methuen pastor were in the vision of the poet.

"Thus to relieve the wretched was his pride,
And even his failings leaned to virtue's side:
But in his duty prompt at every call,
He watched and wept, he prayed and felt for all;

And, as a bird each fond endearment tries
To tempt its new-fledged offspring to the skies,
He tried each art, reprov'd each dull delay,
Allured to brighter worlds, and led the way."

Had it been in the nature of Alonzo Ames Miner to be content with an easy round of duties—it was hardly possible that his Methuen pastorate could be very exacting—he must have been strongly tempted to remain with the good people among whom his first professional lot was cast. In fact, as the writer of this has detected in his tone as he revived the memories, he often spoke of his Methuen home as a paradise from which he had been almost rudely torn. There was a home-like, even pathetic accent in his oft-iterated "when I was in Methuen." To his memory it was evidently the quiet and beautiful harbor out of which he sailed to enter upon an ocean of many adverse winds and even tempests. He was born for conflict, always equipped with spiritual, never with carnal, weapons. He could but know that he was made for great responsibilities, for duties and opportunities of usefulness such as are seldom found outside of metropolitan limits. He hardly ended the second year of his pastorate, ere movements were afoot which in the outcome meant a call from the country village to a large and growing city, one which, in its great opportunities for Christian usefulness, Mr. Miner evidently regarded as imperative, leaving him no option other than that of acceptance.

There is a strong disposition on the part of an irreverent and unsympathetic public to treat in ironical terms the "divine call" which ministers affect to hear, and

to which they profess themselves not at liberty to close their ears: it is usually added that the "call" is always in the direction of more fashionable churches and particularly of larger salaries. That the sarcasm is at times deserved there can be no good reason to doubt. It none the less remains true that men of exceptional gifts, animated with high and unselfish aims, capable of rendering their fellow-men great benefits, are not exactly their own masters. High endowments and great opportunities to use them for noble ends amount to a command: woe is theirs if they do not obey! When the orator Chapin was called to New York he had been recreant to duty had he preferred the quiet village. They on whom the Spirit has been poured in large measure are thereby made the servants of a Power greater than themselves. The brief experience in the small town had but trained Alonzo A. Miner for service in a community where he would reach thousands instead of hundreds. When, therefore, the summons came from a neighboring city, where the facilities for serving his Master were not only peculiar but many, he had indeed a right to deliberate, but the deliberation could bring him to but one conclusion. It was indeed the call of a parish, but it was a divine call. He had no option in the contingency. Duty called, and to the voice of duty he was always obedient. Though mention will be made of the farewell in another connection, the history of the Methuen pastorate may formally end with the following, which Mr. Miner published over his signature in the Lowell "Star and Palladium" of July 2, 1842:—

"Last Sabbath closed my labors as pastor of the Universalist Society in Methuen. Though I have felt it my duty to leave them, I have not done so without a conflict of feeling on my part, and I am happy in having received so many testimonials of strong personal friendship from those who have been sharers of my labor, and with whom I have spent many a happy hour. In point of energy of action, perseverance in duty, and moral worth, I feel it my duty to say the society is probably not surpassed by any others. The church, which has been gathered within two years, is already quite respectable for numbers, and is steadily and constantly increasing. Some half dozen new members were received last Sabbath. The ordinance of baptism was administered to two individuals by immersion and a third by effusion after which the Lord's Supper was celebrated. The growing interest manifested in gospel ordinances I regard as a surer indication of spiritual progress than is the mere item of numbers. Universalism has met with an untiring, and perhaps with a more unprincipled, opposition here than in most other places; but by a bold and vigorous defence, through the blessing of God, it has served but to awaken public attention to an examination of its claims, and, as a consequence, to a hearty reception of its truths. While we have numbered accessions from those who were in good standing in their several respective churches the congregation has been continually increasing, and the multitudes who last Sabbath thronged the house in every part gave evidence by the interest manifested in the services that the truths of the Gospel have lost none of their hold upon their attention and regard. Br. H. R. Nye enters upon his duties as pastor of the Society next Sabbath. I can but congratulate *him* upon the cordiality with which he will be received, and *them* upon their good fortune in securing the services of so active, talented, and worthy a brother. May the blessing of God be on him and them, and crown their mutual labors with abundant success."

CHAPTER IX.

INCIDENTS OF THE CALL TO LOWELL.

IN 1842 the city of Lowell, with a population of about twenty-two thousand, ranked as the second in Massachusetts. A waterfall exceeding thirty feet, making the Merrimac River at that place a mechanical power almost unrivalled, early took the attention of foreign and home capitalists, and with almost unheard-of rapidity a city, mainly of factories for the manufacture of cotton and woollen goods, sprang up as if by magic. At the present time nearly the whole of the operative classes is composed of Catholic foreigners, or of the children of such. Fifty years ago and more, the operatives came from the farming districts of New England, were Protestant in sympathy and conviction, and furnished the bulk of most of the Protestant congregations. They were, however, for the most part transient, very few intending to retain their places in the mills or to become permanent residents. For all of the Protestant churches Lowell at the time was practically and in an exceptional degree a missionary field, the durable results not being seen in the city so much as in the country homes to which the operatives returned. People came and people went. The change was incessant and rapid. In a period of

ten years the same preacher in the same church may have had from two to three quite distinct congregations.

Of course, what is here alleged of Lowell as it was, is in a measure true of every place, particularly in newly occupied regions; but New England, before the epoch of the railroad system had wrought its great social and industrial transformations, was the least nomadic of the communities in the Northern States. The degree of quantity which is equivalent to a change in quality, in the particular explained, separated the manufacturing cities from all others; and of such cities on a large scale Lowell was pioneer.

In a very important regard this peculiarity of the Lowell population made the city promising above any other as an opportunity for the extension of Universalism. In staid, unchangeable old towns nearly every person knows nearly every other person. The ties of family are numerous, and those by marriage only less numerous and strong. Every one is "in the ruts," often very deep "ruts." Property, ideas, creeds, places of church attendance, may without strain of metaphor be regarded as hereditary. A person so situated can with extreme difficulty change either his opinions or habits or places of social resort; and the change of creed must be radical and the dictates of conscience must be very imperative that can compel one to avow an unpopular theology or cast his lot with an unpopular congregation. Half a century ago the creed of Universalism was everywhere spoken against, and for one to connect himself with a Universalist congregation was to break lifelong friendships and to invite even business peril. At this

date people in the employ of the factories make but a fraction of the Lowell population, and hence a very small fraction of the Protestant congregations. But in the earlier time they came from New England families, were therefore of American blood and sympathies, and they made the bulk of every congregation. They met in the new city as strangers. There were few family, social, or sectarian ties. There could be no "Mrs. Grundy." All were, in large measure — by no means wholly — free to go wherever their convictions and honest preferences might lead them, with very few to molest or make afraid.

Lowell, therefore, two generations ago was a golden place and gave a golden opportunity for the apostles of the Universalist faith. The opportunity was not neglected. Early in the history of the city, Universalist doctrine was preached, and a congregation gathered under the preaching of Rev. E. Case and Rev. Calvin Gardner; and under the long, able, most successful pastorate of Rev. Thomas B. Thayer, the First Universalist Society was made large, strong, and influential. Then came the movement to establish a Second Congregation in which Rev. John G. Adams was a pioneer, to be followed by Rev. Zenas Thompson, under whose ministry the movement took substantial form, and the Second Universalist Church — afterwards to be known as the "Shattuck Street" — was erected.¹ Then, in the fall

¹ At this date the Society has taken the name of "Grace Universalist Church," worshipping in a new and uniquely attractive edifice, in a "residential" section of the city — a section which in the days of Rev. Messrs. Thayer and Thomas was a rocky pasture. Its present pastor, Rev. R. A. Greene, having the longest pastorate in the parish by many years,

of 1839, came Rev. Abel C. Thomas from Philadelphia, under whose intense zeal and magnetic eloquence the Second Universalist Society had the prosperity which it is now the fashion to designate as "phenomenal."

At this stage of the present work the author will take the liberty to draw somewhat upon his own memory. For all the period of the pastorate of Mr. Thomas he was one of the congregation that worshipped in the Second Church. He was considerably on the sunny side of twenty when the magnetic oratory and fervent zeal of the preacher literally took him captive; it was the resistless influence of his pastor that determined the vocation of his life. In all that pertained to the work, whether the Sunday service, the Sunday school, the Bible class, the conference, the reading circle, the "lyceum," the decorations for Christmas, the running on errands, he was an ever-present quantity; though at his extreme youth it will not be regarded as affected modesty to add, of course one of the "inferior quantities." The temptation to be elsewhere was strong, and the occasions rare, when he was not found in his sitting on Sunday, and with his class, or with any gathering of interest to the parish.

Most vividly does he remember a Sunday morning when the absence of the pastor from the morning session of the Sunday school raised the suspicion, always an unwelcome one, that an "exchange" was to put a stranger in the pulpit. The congregation — always

has been a providential leader in establishing a large and firm congregation, his hold upon his people growing in strength with the years of his service.

testing the capacity of the auditorium — had assembled, when a quite tall man, of light complexion, with a large head and a nose of proportions to compel special attention, entered the middle aisle, and, with what seemed a clerical step, moved slowly towards and passed up into the pulpit. Who he was or whence he came was probably known to very few in the congregation. Certainly, a grace of manner, a dignity of bearing, a very notable consciousness of strength, which came to him in later years, were at the time obviously incipient rather than very conspicuous. At that time the distinction between the man from the country and the man of the city was far more of a difference than it is to-day, and the city manner had not been put on and made part of the character of the stranger. The self-possession was, however, unmistakable. There was neither hurry nor trepidation. There was the innate strength that makes deliberation safe, and relieves a congregation of anxiety lest the speaker fail in his endeavors. To the writer the stranger was suddenly transformed and became an object of deep personal interest on his learning that he was none other than the author of that printed sermon of consolation described in the chapter immediately preceding, — A. A. Miner of Methuen. Not many weeks later the Methuen preacher made a second visit, presumably "on exchange."

At the time, possibly no one of the congregation, certainly not many, had any suspicion that Mr. Miner's twofold visit was other than an instance of the common practice of an exchange of pulpit-services. But very soon came rumors from Brooklyn, N. Y., that an attempt

would be made to establish a Universalist Society and build a church in that rapidly growing city, — at the time regarded as a principal suburb of the great metropolis, — and that Rev. Abel C. Thomas had been selected as the preacher to lead in the important enterprise. A cloud at once settled over the congregation in Lowell. Rumor soon became certainty. Mr. Thomas had not, in all probability, escaped the fate of most preachers and pastors, — doubtless he had his critics; but if so, the mass of the congregation felt bound to him with “hooks of steel.” But the inevitable had to be faced, and the devotion to a successful and beloved minister was not to be dishonored by disloyalty to the higher interest, — that of the cause.

Before any public announcement had been made, Mr. Thomas had called together a goodly number of the “pillars” in a corner of the auditorium, the writer of this, the youngest of the group, being permitted to listen to a statement and consultation. Mr. Thomas stated the exigency, which seemed to him a call of duty. Then, in response to the question, which in varied forms came from the anxious company, “What will become of the Second Society in Lowell?” he replied: “If you will extend a hearty and substantially unanimous call to the man whom I will name, I at least shall have no anxiety in regard to the Society’s future. I pledge you all that my word can pledge; I have not the shadow of a doubt that under his leadership the present prosperity will be fully maintained, probably be made yet greater. He is showing great ability, and if he lives he is to be heard from. You have heard him twice. His name is A. A.

Miner, of Methuen." There is only circumstantial evidence for the belief, but to the writer it is now conclusive, that those visits from Methuen were not simply in the way of "customary exchange." Presumably they were arranged with a view to the exigency that had at last come. The retiring pastor knew that his work in Lowell had been approved by the test of a constantly large and devoted congregation; he did not have the heart to leave it to its fate uncared for. In taking his leave he was most anxious to make a good past secure. He made no mistake, as the result was soon to show. The invitation was extended. In announcing the result to the congregation, Mr. Thomas, paying his probable successor a just, yet most generous, tribute, made the statement that the influence of the call would be greatly strengthened if it had the unmistakable approval of the congregation. He therefore begged that all might signify their preference, and that none would vote in favor as matter of courtesy. He asked those of the congregation who favored the call to so signify by standing. The entire congregation arose; but, as all saw what it meant in reference to the pastor before them, very few could keep back the tears,—not a few audibly wept. As the call was made for those of the contrary part, not a person arose; but the stillness, save here and there an expression of sorrow that could not be kept back, was painfully suggestive. Never before had there been so sad an occasion under the roof of that edifice.

After careful and somewhat prolonged deliberation,—for Dr. Miner never, in youth or maturity, acted from

impulse ; always only after a full exercise of his judgment, — the call was accepted. The farewell sermon in Methuen, in the hearing of as many people as the church on the hill could possibly hold, was listened to by the parishioners with loud manifestations of grief ; and on the last Sunday in June, 1842, the happy pastorate came to an end. On the Sunday succeeding, after a painful effort, in broken accents, Mr. Thomas tried to say a parting word, and his Lowell pastorate ended, and Alonzo Ames Miner became the incumbent.

The installation followed with little delay, the service being set for Wednesday, the 17th of August. Again the biographer draws upon his memory. The auditorium was filled, people standing in the aisles. Services of this character were not quite as frequent then as in these latter days ; and though familiarity can never make such a service seem to a serious mind other than solemn, it took a hold upon the imagination and the heart such as it seldom can be expected to do. With anthem and hymn the service proceeded to the last word with no break or chill. It is remembered with what uplifting accents Rev. E. H. Chapin, then almost a stranger, but without a recognized peer in majesty of voice, read the hymn, "Thou art, O God, the life and light," as if the massive notes of an organ had broken upon astonished ears ; all seemed borne along on a billow of harmony. He also preached the sermon, from the text, "But speaking the truth in love," with the sententious exclamation, "Here we have the matter and the manner of Christianity." It is remembered that Mr. Miner's quick successor in Methuen, Rev. H. R. Nye, read the

Scriptures; that Rev. L. C. Browne of Nashua followed with prayer; that the prayer of installation was offered by Rev. Josiah G. Gilman of Tyngsboro'; that Rev. Mr. Browne presented the Scriptures and gave the charge; that Rev. T. B. Thayer, of the First Church, in accents that drew tears to the eyes of the candidate and to those of the congregation, in a right hand of fellowship, seemed to speak alone to his co-worker, as if not heard by any other person; and that Rev. Walter Balfour, author of so many expository books, gave the address to the Society. Mr. Balfour was the impersonation of a blunt honesty of speech as well as thought, his Scottish brogue giving a quaintness and also a seeming humor to his words that not infrequently touched the "risibles" in all who heard him. Certain of his exhortations are distinctly remembered. He reminded those of the congregation who were parishioners that preachers have their moods; that they think and preach better on some occasions than on others; that they must not be expected to "strike twelve" every time they enter a pulpit. The words were homely rather than elegant, but they must be recalled: "You must not expect roast beef and plum pudding every day!" He then reminded them of a temptation which they must put behind them: "Some of you may think of saying: 'But Miner is not Thomas;' and others, 'Miner is a better preacher than Thomas.' None of that!" Chapin would have phrased the advice more euphoniously, and enunciated it with less of bluntness; but could the great preacher have improved its quality? Of course the benediction which closed the

memorable service was pronounced by the newly installed pastor. The ceremonial concluded, a successful ministry of about six years began in what at the time was the principal manufacturing city in New England, presumably on the continent.



SECOND UNIVERSALIST CHURCH. LOWELL.

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CHAPTER X.

THE LOWELL MINISTRY — A CONQUEST OF PUBLIC SENTIMENT.

BEFORE any attempt is made to note characteristics of the Lowell pastorate, it may be in place to describe the two great public events that introduced the new Universalist minister to the wider public, giving to him a most helping, even commanding prestige. But as preliminary to this particular sketch and also to the parish work, particulars of the settlement, not over the Society, but in a home, must have statement.

As both of the Lowell pastors previous to the coming of Mr. Miner, Rev. Messrs. Thomas and Thayer, were bachelors, there was something of special interest felt in the novelty of a minister's home, and Mrs. Miner at once became the observed of many observers. The volunteering in the corps for "putting the home in order" — for after a few weeks of "boarding" a house was procured — was notable. The hand that moves this pen was perhaps even too prompt in the placing of carpets, curtains, and whatever else inheres in the business of housekeeping. In fact the recruits were almost in one another's way, and "turns" were taken in the handling of shears and hammers, and the putting

of furniture in the designated places. It was indeed a labor of love, yet it was hardly unselfish, for there was congenial company in it, and the opportunity was coveted. Then it was a genuine pleasure to add something to the happiness of the young minister and his wife; and certainly they were unmistakably pleased at the evidence given that their coming was most welcome. Here, in close connection with the housekeeping in Lowell, is an opportunity to introduce a Lowell incident, though the setting is quite out of the chronological order.

A few years ago the "Miner Charitable Society," connected with the Second Universalist Society in Boston, held an annual meeting, with the accompaniment of supper and after-supper speeches, in the vestry of the church on Columbus Avenue. Dr. Miner presided, and introduced the several speakers in a characteristic way, his *forte* as a moderator being not the least of his many gifts. One of the introductions evoked no little surprise as it proceeded, but its culmination "brought down the house," with cheers and laughter that were slow in being allayed. It is here given from memory, but is for matter and phrase substantially as follows: "Ladies and gentlemen, when I had decided to accept the call to the Lowell Second Universalist Church, Mrs. Miner accompanying me I went to the city to make arrangements for housekeeping and for the procuring of household goods. Of course our principal calls were upon the furniture and hardware houses. We entered a hardware store and made inquiries in regard to the quality and prices of particular articles. A young man

behind the counter made for our inspection a display of the goods. We gave no immediate intimation that we had in view any other intention than that of pricing the articles, perhaps suggesting that the prices might be somewhat extortionate. Thereupon the young man noting our distrust, said, 'I know you, Mr. Miner; I am one of your new congregation. My proprietor permits me to show favor to particular friends. I shall sell you these articles at a good discount from the regular price.' Well, what could we do? We could not be distrustful of a parishioner! Of course we yielded; but Mrs. Miner, with significant warning, pulled my sleeve, which led me to purchase rather less than otherwise I might have done. As we left the store Mrs. Miner could not suppress a suspicion. 'Do you believe what he said? Was not that knowing you and being one of the congregation a trick to catch a trade? I doubt if we see him at the church!' But we did see him in the church, in the Sunday-school, in the Bible-class of which we found him teacher. And we got a good bargain. Mrs. Miner soon regretted that we had not bought more. Yes, and we have known him ever since. And now I have great pleasure in presenting him to you as the next speaker." In due form was introduced the individual who regards it as the greatest honor of his life that he has been intrusted with the weighty responsibility of preparing this biography! As no one present except Dr. and Mrs. Miner and the once "clerk" had the slightest suspicion to whom the introduction referred until his name was called, it will be easily believed that there was a commotion, with laughter prolonged and

even boisterous as the identity was revealed. Possibly one or two hundred may read this recital to recall the very pleasant and exceedingly amusing occasion.

When backed and strengthened by a wide-spread public sentiment the insolence and Pharisaic air of bigotry are formidable foes to confront, requiring great moral courage. Many a man has the courage that dares face the cannon's mouth or risk the shot that comes from the practised aim of a duellist, who at once cowers when a general public presumes to make him an object of disdain. It may be that even Napoleon would have shrunk abashed had an unappreciative country held him up for scorn. In fact, moral cowardice often drives one to desperate displays of animal courage, all to propitiate a hostile public feeling. But nothing is more impotent than bigotry when it has lost the power to control a great public. The Universalist minister two generations ago was not simply on the unpopular side: his neighbor, in no regard his superior, often felt at liberty to "look down upon him." It was therefore a great advantage gained when a conspicuous achievement won the esteem and good-will of the community. This secured, bigotry may continue to bark, but it can no longer bite. Mr. Miner had not been in Lowell three months ere a quite notable event forced a very respectable and influential part of the public to look upon him with respect and even admiration.

The local papers, of course, gave the news, and possibly the reading part of its inhabitants noted the fact, that the Second Universalist Society had a new pastor. The impression was, however, presumably slight, and

doubtless a week had not passed after the installing service ere the fact, and certainly the name of the pastor, had passed from the recollection of nearly all except the members of the Universalist congregations. An event soon befell that made the stranger no longer strange, the unknown name no longer unknown — in fact vividly familiar. It may well be noted in close connection with the installation service and the setting up of “house-keeping.”

Mr. Miner, as has been related, became a citizen of Lowell as pastor of the Second Universalist Church in that city, in July, 1842. This was soon after that great agitation, for a period so full of beneficent results, known as the Washingtonian Movement. A brief word as to the inception of this reform will, for reasons soon to be stated, be in place. There was, in 1840, in Baltimore, a coterie of Seven Drunkards, who met regularly and held high carnival at a particular tavern. Under some good inspiration they suddenly resolved to break off the debasing habit, and, getting others to join, they formed a total abstinence society,—each member pledging himself never again to drink or taste the intoxicating cup. Their leader, John H. W. Hawkins, proved to be gifted with the tongue and magnetism that draw and move the common people. Mainly under his lead, the reform, under the name of the “Washingtonian Movement,” took on the proportions of a crusade against the great evil, and its victories were marvellous. The good effects were seen all over the land; the reclaimed counted by thousands. It had but one principle, — total abstinence, — and but one

method,—the destruction of what is now called the “saloon” by taking away its customers. In the course of about three years it spent its force—partly for the natural reason that all popular enthusiasms are of short duration; and partly for another reason, specially pertinent to a notable event proper to this biography.

The salient characteristics of the doctrine of “Salvation by Grace” have been delineated. It is here to be renewedly stated, that in the belief of all the sects, except Unitarian, Universalist, and Swedenborgian,—that is, of at least ninety-nine nominal church members out of every hundred,—salvation could come in no other way. This meant that any and every form of righteousness that *had its origin outside of the popular churches*, and therefore not the outcome of “the change of heart” under the quickening of Divine Grace, as these words were defined, was “filthy rags.” As since “the Fall” the human heart was evil in every one of its impulses, whatever came from that heart was also evil. Nothing in conduct was good, was worthy of being sought, except as it came from the renewed and rescued heart. For the churches—the immense proportion of them—to look with favor upon a movement that did not pretend to have its origin in other than a “natural impulse,” was a dogmatic inconsistency. If a Calvinistic divine ever lent his presence at a Washingtonian meeting, certainly if in prayer he asked God to bless and extend it, he logically surrendered the basal principle of his creed. The Baltimore Seven, though reformed were not “converted” men, and whatever came from them and was continued by men like them,

must of course be corrupt and offensive in the sight of God.

As good men are often much better than their creeds, and will at any cost of consistency be true to their better impulses, whether "natural" or as the outcome of "grace," good clergymen did, particularly at the outset, grace the Washingtonian movement with their presence, and ask God to bless it in their prayers. But very soon the theological leaders saw very clearly that this would never do, and coldness, followed by serious doubts, and finally most vehement opposition, came to the reform from the nominally Christian churches. It must in candor be conceded, that this strictly theological antagonism to the reform had, in the course of a few years, a measure of extenuation in a growing custom that was certainly very offensive to the sense both of propriety and of right,—that of making the reformed drunkard a pet, exalting him in the "inverse ratio" of his previous degradation. There was, indeed, too much truth in what had become a common complaint, that "in these days nobody can hope to be respected unless he has a revolting tale to tell of drunken habits and practices!" Nevertheless, a reform that had done so widespread a service, and that had in it such great possibilities, ought not to have been condemned because of this unfortunate, even irritating, incident. It ought to have been welcomed, sustained, and led.

By the year 1842, the clergy and leading laity of the churches had recovered the logical courage of their convictions, and the Washingtonian movement was required

to put itself on the basis of the Calvinistic "renewal," and submit itself to the guidance of the theologians, as the condition of their approval. And the most marvelous of temperance reforms found a new enemy in what claimed to be the Church of Jesus Christ and the Apostles! A favorite text of the theological foes was: "And they set the ark of God upon a *new cart*" (2 Samuel, vi. 3),—the "ark" being the Washingtonian reform; the "new cart" no longer the one proper to the covenant, but a vehicle constructed and drawn by unsanctified hands. The reform presumably would have receded, so far as it depended on an abnormal excitement; but unquestionably the unlooked-for theological opposition brought it to a premature death.

Universalists had no theological difficulties to suppress in giving their full sympathies to the Baltimore temperance movement. They did indeed accept the Apostolic teaching, "By grace are ye saved," but they did not accept the Calvinistic interpretation of the words. The "quickening" by grace was not, in their view, the substituting of a new nature, as superficial divines insisted,¹ but the evoking of spiritual fervor and power always inherent in human hearts—inherent, yet often awaiting the visitation from on high. If not distinctively a

¹ The qualification "superficial divines," is made in justice to the Old Orthodoxy, the really profound exponents of which, not less than of the New, never meant by the "changed heart," the substitution of a new nature for an old one, but simply a special and, to use a Spenserian term now in much use, "differentiating" quickening of regenerating grace. But nearly every pulpit gave the impression that the "change" was one of nature—a substitution of new and different faculties; and it is fair to presume that the sin of misstatement was one of ignorance.

religious movement, the Washingtonian was a divinely moral one, and the blessing of the Lord was upon all who sincerely labored to deepen and extend it. For obvious reasons, therefore, very many of the Washingtonians "took" to Universalist leadership. This was particularly true of the movement in the State of Maine, where it made rapid strides. This circumstance at the time operated to intensify the opposition of the older churches to the "unsanctified" reform; and Universalist and Orthodox had a new contention in the notable fact that the Orthodox would help on no reform unless they could make out of it "sectarian capital." From the first, Alonzo A. Miner was aglow in his sympathy for, and co-operation with, the Washingtonian reform; and for the same reason he was, at the outset, the relentless critic of any church which refused to countenance the great work for the reason that they could not use it for sectarian ends.

It so happened that soon after Mr. Miner's becoming a citizen of Lowell, a Convention of delegates from various Washingtonian societies was held in the City Hall of that city. The citizens were there in large numbers. The spacious auditorium was filled. And there was the usual "band of music." The two Universalist pastors, Rev. Messrs. Thayer and Miner, were present. Aggrieved by the unfriendly attitude of the clergy of the older churches, some one introduced a resolution of censure, the mere reading of which evoked a tumult of applause. Friends of the ministers at whom the resolution was aimed, made an earnest effort to suppress the public rebuke; failing

in which, they sought so to modify its words as to take out the sting. Discussion followed, and it was clear that the party of defence was placed in a state of anxiety, for if passed, its effect would be deeply felt in the community. Several gentlemen spoke against the resolution. In due time the pastor of the First Universalist Church took the floor. Well known and greatly beloved by all except the large number that could see no good even in a St. Paul, if he believed in anything that savors of Universalism, his coming forward was greeted with applause. By nature timid, instinctively shrinking from public controversy, always reluctant to lift his voice in an assembly, save in the way of his vocation, when once in the arena, fears flew to the winds, and his courage and self-possession seemed something super-human. His faculty for using words that were barbed arrows, and for sarcasm that went to the quick, was rarely equalled; in what seemed to him a righteous cause it was something terrible. He spoke briefly, and with a pith, point, and inflammatory satire that cut to the bone. Certain recent events in the city, incident to a crusade against Universalism, led by Rev. Matthew Hale Smith, the Orthodox clergy and the Episcopalian rector behind him, — a crusade in which misstatement and slander were the chief constituents, — had made the Universalists and their ministers righteously indignant. The fresh memory of that Pharisaic combination was an unmistakable inspiration to the man on his feet, though he spoke strictly to the point. His fluent, impetuous eloquence made the “galled jade wince,” while the applause was deafening.

As Mr. Thayer took his seat, the cry of "Mr. Moderator" came from all parts of the hall; but the eyes of the moderator fell upon a tall gentleman, youthful, of commanding mien, evidently a stranger to the Chair. The Universalists present knew who he was. It is doubtful if his name was familiar to a dozen outside of his denomination. Not knowing what was coming, whether the resolution was to have an advocate or an antagonist, there was silence, and on many faces there was the unmistakable expression of curiosity. Very soon all feeling of uncertainty was gone; the man upon his feet never knew how to suppress an earnest conviction or to give an uncertain sound. The tall figure literally swayed under the control of righteous passion. The long arms swung as if throwing javelins at a foe. The voice, rising to stentorian volume, flung epithets of rebuke with a tension that made the presence shake. The characterizing of the Christian minister who could even imagine a reason why he should not give aid and comfort to the wretched inebriate in his struggle to reform and once more be a man clothed in his right mind, was shown to be a hollow, heartless pretence. Again, a sympathizing auditory was vociferous and unrelenting in applause,—whether of its own accord, or whether at suggestion from another, does not appear; but as the speaker went to his seat, the band broke into the noise of the clapping of hands and the stamping of feet with "Hail Columbia!" When at last stillness came, the resolution was put, and passed by a majority so overwhelming that the few dissenting voices only added to the chagrin of the party rebuked.

When the speech was ended and before the resolution was adopted, in the tumult of the discord of applause and the music of the band, every person in the hall knew who and what was Alonzo A. Miner; and in less than forty-eight hours Lowell itself knew that an intellectual giant, and a man mighty in battle for what he deemed the right, was in its midst. Mr. Miner went instantly to the front as one of the leading citizens.

There is somewhat of a revolution in an environment when parties, in a conscious assumption of superiority and long accustomed to "patronize," suddenly find themselves in the pillory, needing, and humbly willing to accept, the assistance of those whom they have treated as inferiors. Up to about the year 1860, the profoundest ethical thinker and most brilliant writer in England, being an avowed Unitarian, was passed by with an averted look by Churchmen and by self-styled Evangelical Dissenters, who on the score of gifts and attainments were not worthy to tie the strings of his shoes. The honorary D.D. and LL.D. most fittingly appended to the name of James Martineau did not come from Oxford or Cambridge, but from across the Channel and the ocean. When, however, in the presence of John Tyndall, materialism became dangerously aggressive, unmistakably winning favor from a vast section of the educated public, Churchman and "Evangelical," wholly unprepared to meet the new style of critic, took back seats while Dr. Martineau led the forces of a Spiritual Faith to victory. Since that crucial epoch no Englishman has been able to "look down" on the scholarly Unitarian without making himself an object

of wide-spread derision. Mr. Miner had not been in Lowell a full year ere the clergy, so far from being the masters of public sentiment, found themselves confronted with an unlooked for danger — the danger of losing no small part of their following at the hands of a new style of censor, and one who touched the public conscience.

After the great and durable Temperance reform, which, next to his faith and church, ever had a first place in Dr. Miner's thought and action, that of Slavery, up to the Emancipation Proclamation, most deeply moved a new antagonism,—that of the mind and heart, which, in the interest of reform, were capable of so many antagonisms. In a chapter by itself, justice will be done Dr. Miner's Anti-Slavery record. There was, however, a contention in Lowell which greatly stirred the churches and the general community, in which with one party the Slavery question was principal, and in which with another party the interests of the Church took precedence. It had the effect of renewedly putting Mr. Miner conspicuously before the Lowell public, and of giving him a prestige with the religious part of the community which went very far to remove whatever of prejudice may have been felt toward him on account of his theology and denomination. As he appeared in the character of a champion of Christianity and the churches, the Anti-Slavery element may be regarded, in so far as he and his friends were concerned, as of "minor" consideration; hence it is properly a part of his Lowell record as a minister.

The first instance in which Mr. Miner made a public

appearance where anti-slavery was presumed to be the principal feature in a contention, was early in 1843, and he appeared as the antagonist of the so-called "reformers;" not, however, let it be added, as respected their hostility to slavery. Mr. Garrison and most of his followers became very emphatic in their antagonism to the churches, on the ground that they did not put themselves in avowed and relentless opposition to the wickedness of holding in bonds those for whom Christ died. Their declaration was: "We are for emancipation, immediate and universal,—this is our one and all-inclusive purpose. We have no quarrel with any party except as that party puts itself in the path of our purpose, to obstruct. The churches were the apologists,—some the defenders, none of them the declared enemies, of slavery. We simply move towards our declared end. Of course we strike the churches. We pronounce them Anti-Christ." The "Garrisonians," as they were called, distinguished between slave "owning" and slave "holding." The Southern planters were the slave-owners, the churches were the slave-holders! Not a few of the Garrisonians took the ground that nothing could be done for immediate emancipation until the chief of slave "holders"—the church—was put down. They raised the cry: "Wherefore come out from among them, and be ye separate; . . . touch not the unclean thing." Hence their expressive, though not elegant, name, "Come-outers;" hence a new cognomen for a distinctive movement, "Come-Outism." Whatever the soundness of their reasoning, there could be no question of the fact

that they were sincere and "terribly in earnest." Their tone and accent were Apostolic, and they spoke with an *abandon* that was very effective; and all over New England earnest men and women who had been most devoted as Church members "came out" with what they sincerely thought to be righteous imprecations on the chief allies of the slave owners. Truth to say, they became very expert in the changes they rang on their short and simple logic, and cutting satire seemed to come to them as a special gift. Hence they were feared, and were seldom called to account on their own platform: to attack them seemed to invite, so far as the impression made upon the public is considered, humiliating defeat. The principal leaders of the "Come-Outers" were Stephen S. Foster and the lady who soon became his wife, Abbey Kelley; and either, with an unselfish abandon, would have welcomed stripes, imprisonment, or death, had such a result been the price of their fidelity to conviction.

Mr. Foster and Miss Kelley and their co-workers held a "Come-Outer" convention in Lowell early in 1843, in which they severely arraigned the churches for their evasion of duty, their treachery to their own teachings in regard to the sin of holding human beings in bondage. Early in April of the same year they held a second convention in the city. Commenting on both in the local Universalist paper, "The Star and Palladium," in the number for April 22, 1843, Mr. Miner said: "A few weeks ago our goodly city was blessed with one of those anomalies familiarly known as an Anti-Slavery Convention, but more correctly known by the appellation

of an Anti-Church Convention. During its first session, however, it was understood to dwell particularly upon the sin of the pro-slavery Churches, instancing the Methodists and Baptists, and making them prominent; and to demand *their* overthrow. They met with very little opposition in the positions they then took. Last week they returned to the encounter and challenged the *whole* body of the clergy to come out and show cause why they should not be condemned as holding an office which is a 'conspiracy against God and man, and of the devil, or else confess that themselves (the clergy) are a set of scoundrels.'" It is believed that most of the city clergy were present. Enthusiasm was soon generated, and the slings and arrows of righteous wrath created a storm of mingled applause and dissent. The clergy were "dared" to take the platform and defend their cause — "free speech" was the motto of the reformers. At first, it seemed as if the clergy were over-awed, for the reformers were in training and copious epithets were at their command. A gentleman who was present told the present biographer, that, though not willing to confess himself a coward, he would as soon have thought of entering a nest of hornets as to accept the challenge to face the agitators on their own platform.

There were, however, clergymen present who had the hardihood to take up the challenge, and of the number two in particular. One of these was a man of small stature, — he has already been described as naturally timid and self-distrustful. He uniformly acted on the advice given by Polonius to his son: "Beware of

entrance to a quarrel; but being in, bear't that the opposed may beware of thee;" but once upon his feet, his fear took to itself wings as in a former crisis. His first words were a question that evoked roars of laughter and a tempest of applause: "Who has conferred infallibility on these almighty fellows?" There was more in the same vein, and the speaker took his seat a hero with the majority. The man who thus faced the lions in their den was Rev. Thomas B. Thayer, pastor of the First Universalist Church. Then arose another man who had no occasion to find his courage, for when in the way of what he deemed his duty he never knew fear—Rev. A. A. Miner, of the Second Universalist Church. In what has been quoted from his article in "The Star and Palladium," it appears that the leaders of the meeting had sent out a fearful challenge to all the clergy of the city, summoning them to be present and give reasons why they should not be adjudged "a set of scoundrels." The clergy by their response showed at least that they "dared" to hear a statement of the issue. Mr. Miner made for the matter of his speech an analysis of certain resolutions, which analysis he printed in the article referred to. And for a reason his speech was given in his own church—presumably Mr. Thayer's was also; the time for which the City Hall had been engaged having expired, the doors of the church were hospitably opened for the Convention. Mr. Miner, selecting the salient resolutions, made of them the following condensed statement in syllogistic form:—"1. The Church of Christ is, and always was, opposed to all

wrong; 2. The American Church, being guilty of the sin of slavery, is not opposed to all wrong; 3. Therefore, the American Church is not the Church of Christ."

It happened, unfortunately for the framers of the resolutions, that they had conceded, in fact explicitly affirmed, that the Church of Christ was and always had been, like its Divine Master, "opposed to all injustice, oppression, cruelty, and wrong." Mr. Miner, the born logician, saw the fatal fallacy, and his accent and bearing revealed to the auditory the fact that he saw it. When, in mid-ocean, the electricians grappled at a depth of two or three miles for the broken cable that for a year rested upon the ocean's floor, the reporter said that unmistakable symptoms instantly informed them when the grip was firm, and that the discovery for the moment seemed to transfigure them. A. A. Miner had a relentless grip upon the "reformers"; he knew that he had; and they and all others present were destined to have the proof that he had. He made the fallacy of the resolution unmistakable by presenting a syllogism essentially similar, as follows:—"1. The Church of Christ is and always was opposed to all wrong; 2. The Corinthian Church, being guilty of the sin of fornication, was not opposed to all wrong (1 Corin. v.); 3. Therefore, the Corinthian Church was not the Church of Christ." On the assumption that the Apostolic Church was the Church of Christ, which was impliedly conceded, Mr. Miner's syllogism put his antagonists in a vise. They were logically silenced, every gun spiked. And their opponent had too clear a head to permit escape by an evasion.

The fatal mistake of the resolutions, as Mr. Miner

insisted, was in the lack of that whereof, in later years, he so habitually complained — the lack of “discrimination.” They did not distinguish between what the Church of Christ *required* and what persons in the Church had simply *acquired*. They did not take into account that the divine treasure is of necessity intrusted to earthen vessels; that the kingdom of heaven takes in of every kind, always with the intent of making good that which is bad; that the best of people are imperfect; that there could be no Church if only the perfect were to be taken in as members. In his brief description of the occasion, Mr. Miner said: — “Although the Church party was more than once charged with cowardice and fear, yet that none were afraid to abide the issue sufficiently appears from the fact that when the time for which the Convention was called drew near its close, and the City Hall could no longer be had, the Second Universalist Society promptly opened their house for the continuance of the discussion; and the clergy were on the ground to do battle most manfully. And notwithstanding the discussion was one, in some of its features, which none can approve, yet it is believed good may come out of it. It stirred up in many breasts wrong feelings for the time being, but it will help sincere friends of the race to distinguish between premises and conclusions — between anti-Churchism and anti-slaveryism. They will learn that in order to labor for the good of their colored brethren it is by no means essential that they should march at the bidding of William Lloyd Garrison, or train in the company of which he is ‘Captain General.’” There never was

an hour in the subsequent career of Dr. Miner in which he would have modified the sentiments he here implied, though in his later years he might have made some modifications of the terms in which he alludes to the great anti-slavery champion, whom he learned to honor and revere. In 1843 he was a "Jacksonian democrat," and it came easy for him to make the characterizations, "those anomalies" and the "Captain General." Presumably he and Mr. Garrison, when they came better to know one another, exchanged pleasantries over the Lowell episode. Certainly in the later years, he was prompt and unqualified in his eulogies of the great Abolitionist, as he was the firm friend of and co-worker with the great Abolition orator, Wendell Phillips.

Of course, the foregoing, substantially in Mr. Miner's own words, gives only the substance of his speech. Those who were present have often described the manner as suggestive of an "avalanche." The tall figure seemed to rise to yet greater height; the long arms seemed to be duplicated as he appeared to make them once more "throw javelins at the foe;" while his voice rose to unwonted volume, charged with the tremulous emotions that welled up in his heart. The effect was full of significance. The scornful enemies and traducers of Universalism discovered that they were about to contend with a different sort of foe, and that they well might welcome a powerful ally, no matter from what communion he came. No longer simply Universalism, but all the Churches, had a champion for a new contingency, and one who had shown himself able to take the lead. At once in good measure, prospectively almost wholly,

the backbone of the opposition to Universalism in Lowell was broken as the incident or outcome of the "Come-Outer" visitation. The new pastor of the Second Universalist Church had, through the unintended service of the new school of reformers, with whom in later years he was to be in much affiliation, made a sudden conquest of public sympathy and confidence, which were never withdrawn. The pastor of the First Church had won a similar victory, but soon after the episode he left Lowell for Brooklyn, N. Y.

CHAPTER XI.

THE LOWELL MINISTRY — CONTROVERSIAL INCIDENTS.

HAD Alonzo Ames Miner been an English Puritan in the days of Oliver Cromwell — had he lived in England in that period, a Puritan he would have been — he might have been the Cromwell; if not this he would have been Oliver's chief lieutenant. A peace-man theoretically,—officially, actually, Mr. Miner was a fighter after the model of the Apostle to the Gentiles. He went to Lowell to do what he had successfully done in Methuen, to teach and make practical a positive, constructive Christianity. But, as the phrase goes, he meant to have this, even if he "had to fight for it." The tide of controversy had begun to ebb, yet it was strong, and the champion of Universalism in 1842 must keep his armor on and his sword ready to be drawn from the scabbard, and draw it therefrom many a time and oft. He early got a hold upon the general public, and the style of opposition rampant in 1841 soon became effete or of such repute as to make those who put on the Pharisaic airs seem, what they were, ridiculous. Yet he had occasion to contend earnestly for the faith; and though the controversial incidents of his ministry

were simply incidents, they were very prominent and effective. The controversy was, however, and happily, less and less personal, less and less aimed at the correcting of misrepresentations and the resisting of vituperation. The controversial work was mainly exegetical.

In the period of the Knapp revival, meant particularly for the destruction of Universalism, which was continued in the M. H. Smith crusade, it occurred to the Lowell Universalists to publish a small weekly paper in defence of the faith which was being unscrupulously misrepresented, in the hope and expectation that "printers' ink" would take the Word where the voice of the preacher could not be heard. To this end a prospectus was read to a large congregation assembled in the First Church, and subscriptions were taken, and before they adjourned, the success of the enterprise was assured. It made its appearance under the title "The Star of Bethlehem," Abel C. Thomas and Thomas B. Thayer, editors. In 1842, for particular reasons, it took the name, "The Star and Palladium," T. B. Thayer, A. A. Miner, and C. C. Burr, editors. Then it resumed its first name, "The Star of Bethlehem," A. A. Miner, E. G. Brooks, and H. G. Smith, editors. For this paper Mr. Miner made regular editorial contributions over his initials. These contributions and other matters in the "Star," as it was familiarly called, have been of great service in the preparing of this chapter.

As far back as 1840 a Rev. Mr. Miller was getting considerable notoriety as originator of the notion that the physical world was to come to an end in 1843. He found his "proof texts" in the same passages which

the orthodoxy of that day was accustomed to rely upon as proofs of the doctrine of endless punishment, and which Universalists applied to the downfall of the Jewish State, particularly inclusive of the destruction of Jerusalem and the Hebrew Temple—in which interpretations, it may be added, the Universalists had the support of many eminent Orthodox commentators. It was impossible to “argue” with Mr. Miller or with his disciples—they were wholly outside the realm of calm discussion. Prof. Moses Stuart, of the Andover Theological Seminary, in application of the proverb to answer certain persons according to their folly, suggested that the “Millerites” fix upon the first of April as the day of destruction! Mr. Miner tried upon Mr. Miller a *reductio ad absurdum*. Miller having committed himself to the notion that, in the Bible, days are the equivalent of years, Miner had his opportunity: “By Mr. Miller’s rule of a day for a year, the seventy years of the captivity of the Israelites, in Babylon, make 25,200 years, so the Jews must be in Babylon yet. They are also now suffering the famine in the land of Egypt, and probably father Jacob with his youngest son Benjamin has just got comfortably located near Joseph’s corn crib!”

In regard to “Millerism,” as it was generally termed, it was only too apparent that while very few of the so-called Orthodox had for it any other feeling than that of contempt, they were, in the phrase of the day, quite willing to make “sectarian capital” out of it. If, through the terror it created in feeble or uninstructed minds, it could be utilized to fill their churches, they

were more than willing to profit by the opportunity. In a very different way, and one perfectly legitimate and honorable, Universalists also saw in the delusion an "opportunity." As the delusion was based on a misapplication of the identical passages which current Orthodoxy applied to the dogma of endless punishment, Universalists, in refuting Millerism, by the same exegesis refuted the Orthodox exegesis; and the terror-stricken, in getting relief from the Universalist expositor, was at the same time led away from the champion of the historic misapplication. The Universalist papers and the Universalist ministers did not neglect the duty which the exigency brought to them. Mr. Miner certainly was not blind to the open door. His Lowell pulpit gave faithful and clear and convincing expositions of the strangely perverted Scriptures. So did his column in the local paper — sententiously called the "Star." So did his voice, wherever he happened to be — notably, and it must be added amusingly, in Bradford, N. H., where Millerism had created a "burnt district." It may be doubted if all this argumentation converted a single Millerite from the error of his belief, for words of reason can make no impression on fanatical ears; but legion must be the name of those who, though excited by the delusion, were not its dupes, and who, listening to the Universalist expositor, listened to be convinced. But, for the present purpose, Mr. Miner was getting an experience in the interpretation of the Word that in subsequent years made him mighty in the Scriptures.

The columns of the "Star" give many samples of

the conflict, which, however it may have lost somewhat of the "revival" animus, was still in operation. A few of these printed testimonies will serve to show the controversial temper of the time, the staple of controversy, and, what is more to the present purpose, the special gifts and working of Mr. Miner's mind in the early and youthful years of his profession. A paper called "The Sword of Truth" was started in Lowell by a noted, very able, and very adroit controversialist, Rev. Luther Lee, of the Methodist denomination, Universalism being the special object of attack. A correspondent of that paper had sought to turn against Universalism a passage which Universalists were accustomed to rely upon as one of their own principal proof-texts: "But they which shall be accounted worthy to obtain that world, *and* the resurrection from the dead, neither marry nor are given in marriage; neither can they die any more for they are *equal unto* the angels; and are the children of God, being the children of the resurrection" (Luke xx. 35, 36). As will appear, there is special reason for the italics. The only particular in which the passage may seem to fail as a Universalist proof-text is an apparent implication of the clause "they which shall be accounted worthy." Mr. Miner, in turning the argument against the correspondent, made the point, which can hardly be gainsaid, that even if there is an implication hostile to Universalism, it is not at all in favor of the doctrine of endless punishment, but rather of annihilation, the limitation pertaining to the "resurrection" not less than to "that world." But, as Mr. Miner noted, the Saviour was not

questioned by the Sadducees respecting the *number* that will be raised ; nor did he speak in reference to that point ; he simply set forth the condition of those who will be raised as an *immortal* state, in which they will be *equal unto the angels*, and will be *the children of God, being children of the resurrection*. "The doctrine of Universalism," he continues, "if it be rested on this passage *alone*, cannot be disproved except by establishing that of annihilation," a point half, but unwittingly, conceded by the writer in "The Sword of Truth." But Mr. Miner notes another concession by the same writer, to the same purport, by his "wrenching" the passage as follows, the pertinence of the italics being obvious : "But they which shall be accounted worthy to obtain that world at the resurrection of the dead, neither marry nor are given in marriage, neither can they die any more ; for they are *immortal like* the angels and are children of God, being children of the resurrection." The unauthorized words as denoted by the italics in the quotation, as a style of "wrenching the Bible," had very particular significance in view of the fact that, while the champions of so-called Orthodoxy took great and frequent liberties in this fashion, they made no little "sectarian capital" out of any such freedom thought to be practised by a Universalist. Mr. Miner commented to this effect, in view of Rev. Mr. Lee's complaint that Rev. A. C. Thomas, in quoting as a Universalist proof-text the passage in Isaiah xlv. 23, 24, omitted the word *one*, which had been supplied by the translators, and modified a mark of punctuation "with which inspiration had nothing to do." Mr. Miner gave a concluding paragraph,

which has value as an exact transcript of the controversial narrowness and unfairness of the time when Universalism was the target for many arrows. "It is," he says, "amusing to remark the change in the mode of answering the Universalist argument founded upon the passage. Formerly it was contended by the antagonist that the Saviour said nothing of the *happiness* or *misery* of any persons in this passage, but simply represented those of whom he spoke as *immortal*. Now it seems admitted that the Saviour represents the class of persons of which he spoke to be *happy*, and an effort is made to show that he is only speaking of such as are holy *here*. However, this may all be very well, seeing that those who oppose Universalism are always right and Universalists entirely wrong."

In these later days, expositions of Scripture as the Universalists half a century ago presented them, are almost a lost art: in view of the great and varied light which recent erudition has thrown upon the Book, the art might well be an improved one. But not so at the time of the Lowell pastorate. Presumably in the pulpit, certainly in the printed sheet, Mr. Miner did valiant and helpful work, and in the doing of it qualified himself to do better work in explaining passages usually thought to be proofs of unending woe, including those which did not come within the limits of "Millerite" applications. The sin against the Holy Ghost, the parable of the Rich Man and Lazarus, the case of Judas, and the passage — at this time confessedly hard to be understood — Hebrews ix. 27, received somewhat extended and usually very clear treatment.

There was, however, a growing disposition in all the churches to make exegetical controversy less and less a staple of preaching, and, as the Universalist had gradually fewer provocations to resort to the "Apostolic knocks and blows," expository discussions became less frequent from Universalist pulpits and publications. But if led somewhat — he never was wholly led — away from exegetical and controversial methods; if he gradually and wisely grew into the practicalness of divine truth, Mr. Miner never forgot, never failed to insist upon the fact, that it is doctrinal truth that has practicality. He never fancied that he could make a fire without fuel. With a wisdom beyond his years, he saw and affirmed that the practical life inheres in doctrine firmly and feelingly believed. "One of the first duties," he writes, "which seems to devolve upon the ministers of Christ is to preach the Gospel, to exhibit clearly and forcibly its holy truths, and to guard those truths against the corrupting influence of error." He quotes St. James: "Of His (God's) own will begat he us *with the word of truth*," the italics being his own; the passage in Ephesians: "In whom ye also trusted *after* that ye heard *the word of truth* . . . in whom *after that ye believed* ye were sealed with the Holy Spirit of promise." He adds the comment: "Here, *hearing the Word and believing it* is clearly set forth as the cause of their *trust* in Christ, and of being *sealed* in him."

There was also "a growing disposition" to treat of themes which, while doctrinal, were also constructive. The joy that comes from the believing of truth gains upon the fear incident to the believing of untruth; the

rays of spiritual illumination gradually supersede the darkness of error; the real hell on earth gets more recognition than does the old-time place of torment in the world beyond the grave; the consolations of the Gospel, the incitement to the better life coming from growing trust in the Everlasting Goodness, and kindred matters of positive inculcation, had more frequent treatment, while the higher method was a discipline adding cubits to the mental and spiritual stature of the preacher. Many particulars could be given in which he defends Universalism on grounds strictly ethical, in answer to ethical objection. Two more instances will suffice. In answer to the objection that Universalism, by taking away the fear of endless woe, removes a needful restraint upon the conduct of the sinful, Mr. Miner replied: "When we attack the great doctrine of infinite and endless wrath, and by reasons strong destroy its power upon the mind, some, like the freed slave, may run into excesses that will require time to correct. This, however, is only an incidental result which springs up in the progress of the case. It is the consequence, not of learning the new truths, but of giving up the old errors before the new truths have established their power over the mind." Not Coleridge, Bushnell, or Martineau — all gifted beyond most of their fellows in the faculty to apprehend ethical laws — could have made a clearer statement of basal truth. Here is another citation, in which Mr. Miner takes some comfort in the discovery that the critics of Universalism are getting glimpses of the higher truth: "Instead of damning the man forever who has damned himself thus long, they begin to understand

that it is a better policy to put him under a better government, — a government that will redeem and purify, instead of one that will corrupt and brutalize.”

Not a few passages might be cited from Mr. Miner’s “Star” editorials, to show that he was capable of looking through the letter of Scripture to the spirit it embodied and the psychological principle on which it rested. Even as long ago as 1842, contrary to the fashion, even with not a few Universalists, Mr. Miner subjected theology to the tests of fundamental principles, — possibly, in doing so, somewhat wiser than he himself knew. “No man,” he said, “can leap at once from the pit of apathy and indifference and corruption, upon the gospel mount of joy and delight.” At that time very few of any sect had got emancipated from the notion of fiat salvation into the truth, self-evidencing when seen, of salvation by character — that is, by motives or influences acting upon the moral sense and the free will. Mr. Miner early saw this profound distinction, and in later years made much use of it — not a few thought a forced use of it — as evinced in a couplet of one of Hosea Ballou’s hymns: —

“As night before the rays of morning flees away,
Sin shall retire before the blaze of God’s eternal day.”

Not by fiat, not by the physical change wrought at death, but by the moral force, the “blaze” of God’s love, then full and unmistakable, shall sin be destroyed and everlasting righteousness brought in. No Universalist will dispute, every one will instantly accept, the “philosophy of salvation” thus exemplified, but in these days nearly

all Universalists will see a vital factor in the element of time, as almost unwittingly affirmed by Mr. Miner in 1842; in truth he did not take in all the sequences of his own reasoning. That he was essentially on an ethical basis, as opposed to materialistic assumptions, had proof in a piece of satire that went to the quick. What was by many thought to be the science of phrenology was very popular half a century ago. It in fact became a principal factor in much theological disquisition. It was and is unquestionably science to this extent — the human mind in this world manifests itself through a physical organism; the brain is the mind's organ. Not a few superficially confounded the physical organ of mind with its cause. A paper had been started in what at that time was the "Far West," in the interests of what it called "Restoration." Asking the question, "What produces mind?" the editor answered, "We find that mind is the effect of organization. This is learned from a philosophy that fears no contradiction. . . . A certain member of the body is the organ of the mind. It thus becomes an effect." Mr. Miner's comment on this singular statement is of interest in two regards: it exhibits his talent for crushing sarcasm that in later years made him a terror to those on whom he saw occasion to apply it, and it also showed that even in his youth he escaped the blighting materialism which half a century ago went in the name of what was called phrenology. His comment on the statement was: "The mind, we are told, is the *effect* of the organization of the brain; and then again that the mind acts by means of the brain as its organ. This certainly

is very convenient; it first makes the mind a result of an action, and then turns round and makes it the cause of that action. . . . It makes the cart draw the horse until they get well under way, when the horse takes hold and draws the cart. . . . That the philosophy does not fear contradiction is sufficiently proved by the fact that it has dared palpably to contradict itself in the extract we have given."

There was another incident of controversy in which Mr. Miner, not appearing as a participant but rather as a critic from without, is of special significance, in that he exhibits his sense of justice and his sympathy for an ill-treated party, though with that party he had, in matters of belief, no fellowship whatever — from the opinions of which party his dissent was intense. Sympathy for the "under dog" in a quarrel, to make use of a metaphor more expressive than æsthetic, was his inclination and habit all his life, so strong indeed that at times it misled his judgment. It had a marked exhibition during his residence in Lowell under circumstances that made it an act of moral courage. It merits statement, not for what the controversy was in itself, but for its being the occasion of the exhibition of Mr. Miner's deep sense of what was right and just.

It may not be the peculiarity of any sect or any age to confound an opponent by appeals to prejudice and by turning the popular laugh upon him — it is the natural resort of the bigot who cares only for effect, being unscrupulous as to the method of getting it. The practice was, however, at its worst stage two generations ago, when the orthodoxy was exclusively the Old, the

New hardly in its incipency, and when it ruled in New England by very general consent. Alonzo A. Miner never could leave a person in doubt as to the soundness of his faith in God and in Christianity as His Word made flesh in Jesus the Christ. For atheism he had nothing but horror; for any sceptical tampering with the Scriptures he had no sympathy. The "infidel," or what appeared to him to be such, never got from him a word or accent that savored of concession. It is therefore a special satisfaction to be able to give a case in which, while argumentatively he was the relentless antagonist of the infidel, he could be just to him, and insist that others should be just to him, and so respectful in their treatment of him.

A certain gentleman, voluble of speech, and not lacking in a high estimate of his gifts as a platform controversialist, making a circuit of the country, with a challenge to meet in argument "Deist, Atheist, or Mormon," found his way to Lowell, the City Hall being the arena to which he "dared" any one of the contrary part to put in an appearance. Deists and Atheists came to the conflict to proffer their argument and to answer their assailant. But they did not get what had been promised them. The champion, who had an abundance of rude wit, simply held them up to ridicule, interlarding what he called his "argument" with Pharisaic reminders that repentance was the first duty of those to whom his challenge had gone.¹ Bedlam, therefore, is the

¹ The Rev. John W. Hanson, D.D., now of Chicago, will doubtless remember that he was present in company with the writer, and can testify that the "common report" was true.

proper name for the disgraceful exhibition of "uproarious laughter" which he turned upon the heads of men whose courage at least deserved some respect. Mr. Miner was righteously indignant. "We have," he said, "no sympathy with infidels, though we would wish them well as we would all others whom we think in error. But there was one feature in the proceeding of the evening which, if common report may be relied upon, was entirely unworthy a Christian audience, a defender of the Christian faith, or the Christian cause. We refer to the unwillingness manifested to give the objector a fair hearing. It may be very amusing to raise a laugh at his expense, and to silence him with noise when he attempts to speak; but ridicule, and hissing, and sneering will never convince him or any other doubting soul. Moreover, I do not quite see the justice of inviting a man to speak in public discussion, or of accepting an invitation from him for such a discussion, and then, instead of meeting his arguments in a manly way, attempting to drown his voice with clamor. Such pretended friends of Christianity are greater obstacles to its progress than any open opposition can be." These were wise as well as just words, not, however, any too characteristic of the polemical temper of the time when and place where they were written.

There was yet another contention which as respects the Second Society was without, but, sad to say, within as respects the denomination, and, yet more sad to say, was destined to work great harm to the cause of Universalism in Lowell. It must have a brief statement. Almost on the instant of Mr. Miner's coming

to the Second Society, a movement was begun, looking to the forming of a Third Society. The two churches were at an overflow and the call for a third seemed to not a few imperative. Mr. Miner was at the first in serious doubt as to the expediency of the enterprise. He exhibited in this instance the mental trait that was so notable in his subsequent career — deliberation. But leading laymen were full of faith and confidence. At an initial meeting, the purpose of which was to determine whether the suggestion should become a settled purpose, one of the laymen of the Second Society not only touched the risibles of the brethren but greatly encouraged them in the undertaking, in a brief speech to this purport. There was, at the time, a lull in the manufacturing business. Quite a number of the mills had "shut down." It was estimated that full one-third of the families of the city had gone to their old homes to await the summons that should call them back; and no one doubted that the summons was other than a matter of early time. This was the speech: "One-third of our people have left the city. Yet both of our churches are full. That means that another congregation is in the country. What will become of it when it gets back? We must have a new church ready to receive it!" There was applause with the feeling that there was a weighty fact. The discussion continued to a late hour. The one silent man was all the while deliberating with himself. In due time his deliberation became a purpose, and with heart, hand, and pocket, Mr. Miner threw himself into the enterprise. It was successful, and in a few months a third congregation

was worshipping in a new edifice with Rev. John Moore as the pastor.

A leading member of the Second Congregation said to the writer of this, a few years later: "I was full of faith in the movement that started the Third Society. We were at the high tide of prosperity. Unfortunately, our prosperity proved to be our misfortune. An untoward event brought disaster to the new Society, and the cause of Universalism was set back in Lowell."

Half a century ago Universalism was habitually maligned as infidelity — this by pre-eminence was its enemies' favorite designation. In fact the Universalist fathers were intensely Biblical in their sympathies as well as their belief, and the most rigid Calvinist could not have shown a deeper repugnance to anything that seemed to make light of the Word. Rev. E. G. Brooks, at the time pastor of the First Church, and Rev. A. A. Miner, of the Second, were in full accord with their elders in the firm reliance on the Holy Scriptures as containing a revelation from God to man. They had little sympathy with those who even consistently spoke slightly or disparagingly of the Bible. But for a nominal Universalist to do so flippant a thing seemed hardly less than treason; besides, such an act could only give "aid and comfort" to their sectarian foes in that it might seem to sustain the chronic accusation of infidelity. Rev. Theodore Parker came out as a Rationalist pioneer, particularly in a sermon on "The Transient and Permanent in Christianity," which was soon followed by his famous "Discourse" — a small octavo, in which, with considerable show of scholarship, with a singular devout-

ness of spirit, a rhetoric that outshone even the brilliancy of the transcendental school, and with a confident tone that scorned to notice adverse criticism, he assailed the popular conception of the Bible as an authority in matters of belief and conduct; classed Jesus with the school of simple reformers; denied on *a priori* grounds all that savored of the supernatural, and of course the miraculous, putting the Bible in the category of all other religious books, — only it was the best of the kind. The Unitarian Association took alarm and if it did not formally expel him it at least “froze him out.” But his friends, rapidly growing in numbers, came to his support and gave him a Sunday platform in the Melodeon in Boston, and afterwards in Music Hall. Nearly all the Universalists of the time revolted at Mr. Parker’s free handling of the Scriptures, none more intensely than did Messrs. Miner and Brooks of Lowell. On the retiring of Rev. Mr. Moore, the pulpit of the Third Society fell to a young man who accepted all that was iconoclastic in Mr. Parker’s method, but who very feebly represented what was devout and constructive, and so the child of hope, for which so many had prayed and struggled and sacrificed — the Third Universalist Society of Lowell — was put in bitter antagonism to the other Societies, and was made to represent what the two older pastors and most of the people of Lowell regarded as infidelity pure and simple. The columns of the local Universalist paper that fell to the new-comer, were also devoted to the Parker iconoclasm. Rev. Messrs. Miner and Brooks felt that they were betrayed in the house of their friends. They saw that a crisis had come

when it was idle to cry "Peace": the situation was that of war. The result was that the new Society was crushed, and ere long the edifice became a place of traffic. The prestige of Universalism was in some respects strengthened by the firm courage of the two older pastors; in other respects it was severely injured by what had the character of a scandal.

Controversy and contention always give ample material for history, — for what is the average story of a nation other than the record of wars and rumors of wars, and of the acts of kings and parliaments in relation thereto? But the better class of historians, intent on giving the "story" of the arts of peace, always make the chapters thereupon few in number and relatively brief. It would be an easy task greatly to extend these "controversial incidents." But the particular record — a needful and useful one in a Life — may, so far as the Lowell pastorate is concerned, end here.

CHAPTER XII.

THE LOWELL MINISTRY — CONSTRUCTIVE WORK.

THE concluding chapter on Mr. Miner's ministry in the great manufacturing city will pertain to the bulk of his work, that which pertains to years, — where the matters recorded in the two chapters immediately preceding pertain to months, in some particulars only to days. In substance it will be by far the greatest chapter; in words it will be the shortest. "Happy the nation whose annals are dull," for, as noted in closing the preceding chapter, wars, conflicts, contentions, furnish the materials with which the historian entertains. The history of a good life is mainly the history of an influence, — but who can give the details of an influence? Who can analyze and enumerate the particulars of a radiation? Of the late Bishop Brooks it has been said that his career had few notable incidents, the chief one being the stubborn antagonism to his election to the high office and the crushing defeat of his critics. The facts that great multitudes were drawn to the sanctuary where he regularly ministered, and that men would throng Faneuil Hall at noon on a day of business to take from his lips instruction, rebuke, and exhortation, have in them little for the pen of the biographer. Mr.

Miner's Lowell pastorate covered a period of six years, lacking two months. It was accompanied by one serious disturbance — the essential particulars of which have been noted — but inwardly it was quietly prosperous, growing in the elements that unite and solidify, so far as such elements can have opportunity and scope in the nomadic population of a manufacturing city. It was full of the events that make no noise, that never startle. Rev. A. C. Thomas, his predecessor, once said to the writer of this: "My life in Lowell was that of a salamander; I was perpetually in the fire of bitter controversy. The Knapp revival and the Matthew H. Smith crusade, and the discussion with Rev. Luther Lee (a noted antagonist of Universalism), and conflicts with the resident clergy, kept me in a fever-heat of excitement." When Mr. Miner took the place which Mr. Thomas had vacated, the excitement of controversy — not, however, the controversy itself — began to calm down, as has been stated, and his work became more and more constructive. Of course, the storm was not abruptly succeeded by calm. The waves had lost their white crests, yet they continued as reminders of the tempest, and the Lowell Universalist churches were at times on the defence. But both Universalist and Orthodox had ceased to be noisily rampant. The "arts of peace" had their opportunity.

Two influences were at work at the time, tending to change the style of preaching that had prevailed in most of the Universalist churches. One was in the natural reaction from the controversial habit, creating a tendency to the opposite extreme. The other influence was per-

sonal. A new style of preacher had made an appearance in Rev. Edwin H. Chapin, recently settled in Charlestown, whose resistless eloquence took captive every congregation before which he appeared. Mr. Chapin was from the first a positive Universalist, growing to be more and more such to the hour of his last pulpit service. But he had no taste for "opposing" or being "opposed." He rarely made an attempt to lay bare the errors that flourished under the pretence of "sound doctrine." The Divine goodness was, in his thought, never-ceasing, and in seeking to find and restore the lost, could neither be discouraged nor fail. This, the enduring, unchanging substance of Universalism, was at once the matter and the inspiration of the great preacher. His opposition to Orthodoxy, as the old-time Calvinism styled itself, was an effect rather than an affirmation. So great a man, with lips that at times seemed inspired, could but have a following, and, as is usual with followers, there was too much of imitation where the master had original impulse. But revolution was an effect not less than that of imitation. Very many insisted that the old errors must be fought face to face so long as they were dominant in the great majority of the churches. A field must be cleared of rocks and stumps before it can be profitably, effectively tilled; and not a few feared that under the influence of the great orator, too many would be led into the mistake of planting where the thorns of error would spring up and choke. In this division of feeling and judgment there was, with here and there an exception, no bitterness, but there was in it enough of conviction to create

two parties in the Universalist Church. Alonzo A. Miner early saw that while the work of positive teaching, of construction, was most imperative, such a work, if not balanced by continuous exposure of the false doctrine everywhere asserting itself, would defeat the mission of Universalism and put in peril the denomination. He never doubted that the Universalist Church was called of God, that it had resting upon it peculiar responsibilities, and that it was the duty of those who fought under its banner to be fully equipped, alike for defence and offence, and even for advance. He appreciated the genius of Chapin and was ever on most friendly and fraternal relations with him; but he did not imitate anybody, and he did not forget the example of those charged with the building of the walls of Jerusalem while the foe was near, every one of whom wrought with one hand while the other hand held a weapon. "For the builders, every one had his sword girded by his side, and so builded" (Nehemiah iv. 18). No one will doubt that Chapin gave the Universalist name and Church a prestige that very greatly neutralized popular prejudice. Not becoming his imitator, not feeling that the time for pronounced antagonism to the old errors had passed, Mr. Miner, acting independently, and from his own judgment, progressed into the constructive work which gives the only foundation upon which a church can rest.

Though too young to listen with critical ears, and too inexperienced to analyze with much discrimination, the present writer, during the months in which he was Mr. Miner's parishioner, had something better than a vague

apprehension of the religious quality of the themes upon which he loved to discourse. While he ever gave thanks unto God for what he had done for a world's salvation, he never forgot to add the "through our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ." He never slighted the divine instruments—the Apostles and the Church. His themes were not selected from events of storm, whirlwind, shipwreck, and railway accident, all of which may have come in to illustrate or give a setting; they were taken from the Bible, mostly from the New Testament. Such themes gave scope for both sword and trowel—the controverting of false notions and the imparting of enduring truth. The writer does not recall a single memory in which the Lowell pastor urged the one phase to the neglect of the other. Quite early in the pastorate he gave sermons on such themes as Forgiveness, Repentance, and Reformation; and certainly one of his hearers discovered with no little surprise, that even such topics gave opportunity for the application of exposition and of logic, not less than of exhortation. On one occasion, as is quite distinctly remembered, Mr. Miner discoursed on the "godly sorrow that leadeth to repentance," in which it was explained with logical consecutiveness that repentance includes a decisive act as well as a feeling—that the turning back from an evil course is the only way to turn a godly sorrow to use. The intellectual part of the discourse, despite ample illustration, was unavoidably somewhat heavy, and the "attentive hearer" was getting somewhat inattentive. The preacher was conscious that his grip on the hearer was failing, and instantly, by an instinctive tact that became in later

life a faculty, he recovered the situation. The "mermaid from the Fiji islands" was on exhibition in the city, and the arts of the showman drew thousands to gratify a curiosity in regard to so strange a specimen as that of a head analogous to that of a woman and a tail exactly like that of a fish! Knowing what was uppermost in public thought and speech, the preacher exclaimed with the accent that thrills: "I am discoursing on a vital theme—the most real of all real things; it is not on a mermaid from the Fiji islands!" The effect was literally startling. His profound scepticism as regarded the artificial curiosity, to see which thousands were spending time and money, was put in contrast with a theme touching which no serious mind could be sceptical, and in regard to which no soul capable of devoutness could afford to be indifferent. Henceforth to the "Amen," no eye could be dull, no ear be drowsy. That sermon, so well remembered for more than half a century, may be regarded as a sample of discourses given in the Lowell Second Church for a period of six years.

No diligence brings to light any very conspicuous event special to Mr. Miner's pastorate in the Lowell Second Universalist Church, though it does, as proofs have been given, of notable troubles incident to matters *outside* of his parish work. Had he been in the pastoral position during the Knapp revival and the M. H. Smith crusade, it cannot be doubted that in every particular he would have shown himself equal to the exacting exigencies. But the six years of the settlement were lacking any special excitement or crisis coming from without, with a single serious exception noted in another

connection. There were minor conflicts and the passing of small swords between him and the assailants of the doctrine for the defence of which he was set; but the Marengos and the Austerlitzes came during the ministry of Rev. Abel C. Thomas, including that of Rev. Thomas B. Thayer for the same years. So far as artificial lines can be drawn between one period and that which went before and came after, the Lowell experience was to Mr. Miner a special training school. Up to his acceptance of the call in 1842, his reputation was almost wholly local. He was known to all in the place of his nativity and in his military academy as a "smart young man," as one of "unmistakable promise." While in Methuen he rose rapidly in favor with his own people, and made friends in the village; but still his recognition was local, and presumably very few, certainly not he himself, had any foresight of the reputation that was to honor his maturer life. When, six months, more or less, before he was voted "the call," he entered for the first time the pulpit of the Lowell Second Church, it may be doubted if a dozen people in the large congregation knew him or knew of him; not unlikely he was even in name a total stranger. In Lowell, therefore, the gristle that made bone rapidly in Methuen very soon became wholly bone. The new duties, the rapid increase of responsibilities, the sharpening of his faculties, his ease and self-possession in the use of his gifts, and the developing of his many administrative gifts from an estate of incipency, found occasion and opportunity. People in the city, and Universalists out of the city, in the State, in the denomination at large, began to hear

about and to be curious in regard to A. A. Miner. The strangely eloquent Chapin was the preacher for ordination, installation, and dedication; but Miner soon had place on the programme, and usually a conspicuous one. His wisdom was perhaps the most noticeable of his gifts; and hence, while Chapin preached the sermon, Miner "addressed the Society." Of course this simply states the rule, to which there were exceptions. He became a leading presence in Association and Convention. At that time the principal "business" of a convention, if "business" is not a misnomer, was to hear the great preachers, and very early A. A. Miner was "put on," as the phrase went, to preach, even before the United States Convention (subsequently to take the name of the General Convention) in the great city of New York. For this, and for far more, he was in "training" from 1842 to 1848; and when he accepted a call to the Boston Second Universalist Society, on School Street, as the colleague of Hosea Ballou, few names were more familiar to the Universalists of the whole country than that of Alonzo A. Miner.

Of Quaker ancestry and with many Quaker prepossessions, Mr. Miner's predecessor, Rev. A. C. Thomas, brought to Lowell certain features of the Quaker dress and speech, and a dislike of certain forms and ceremonies. He had avoided even the ministerial title; preferred the simple "Evangelist" to the "Reverend;" had never been ordained; and submitted to the official "setting apart" out of deference to New England customs and conveniences. It was part of the Quaker prejudice to look with disfavor on the ordinances, and during

his Lowell pastorate no church was organized, nor was the Sacrament of the Holy Communion observed. From the first Mr. Miner was a believer in the Church as the true Christian organization, and the ordinance of the Lord's Supper was to him inexpressibly precious. Accordingly, almost at the outset of his Lowell ministry, he began to prepare the way for the establishment of the church and its essential formularies. He made the endeavor with the shrewdness and calculation that were soon to prove conspicuous in his art or gift as a "forensic" orator. Mr. Thomas had never in any formal way antagonized the church. He had been careful that no word or act should prejudice it in the minds of his people. But one of his great popularity, one so thoroughly charged with the controlling spirit that is now called "magnetism," of course could but influence opinions even if he made no mention of them. Mr. Miner knew that there was a latent opposition to be conquered, and that it would defeat his purpose were he to enter upon it hastily and abruptly. The writer of this biography, at the time a parishioner of Mr. Miner, in the light of a half-century's experience, can clearly see now what then was not so noticeable, that the new pastor in Lowell saw a lion in his path, and that he moved with measured step toward removing the obstruction. It is also seen at this date, that Mr. Miner, feeling his way, had an instinct of the progress he was making, and grew week by week more outspoken and explicit. As was ever his wont, he was masterly deliberate, and at an early stage in his new sphere of duty, he had conquered all lurking prejudice, had established

a branch of the Christian church, and the sacrament of the Lord's Supper was regularly administered to a sympathetic people.

The records of the parish contain a very significant minute under date of April 26, 1846. It notes particulars of an informal meeting, held with reference to what seemed to be a serious contingency. The greatly beloved pastor of the Universalist Society worshipping on Warren Street, Boston, had accepted a call to the Orchard Street Universalist Church, New York, Rev. T. J. Sawyer, the virtual if not formal creator of this parish, having moved to Clinton in that State. The choice of the Warren Street people fell upon Alonzo A. Miner, and a call was formally extended to him to become Mr. Skinner's successor. The position and the salary were temptations which might have led to prompt acceptance in the mind of one to whom ambition furnished a stronger motive than a sense of duty. The call was taken into consideration with the characteristic temper of patient and careful reflection. The one point of imperative interest was the question whether the situation in Lowell contained the greater opportunity for usefulness—whether a better work on the whole could be done in a well known field than in one where the facilities, being somewhat new and strange, were less certain. Mr. Miner's severest critic never questioned the integrity of his motive—never expressed or could have fancied a doubt that a wish to do the most for the cause he had at heart dominated all other considerations. There was in the Lowell Society but one desire. To accomplish the end on which the hearts of all were set, it was simply

needful to convince the pastor that, all things taken into the account, the present situation promised greater usefulness than the one to which he had been invited. The sole purpose of the "informal meeting" was to bring the principal reason to bear on the mind of the pastor.

Preambles and resolutions are often a perfunctory, almost enforced, compliment. Sometimes they are meant as a pillow to make a fall less painful. At times they are a generous cover, mercifully meant, yet of somewhat questionable veracity. Without doubt an honest tribute and endorsement are the rule. Certainly, as respects the action of the Lowell Second Society, there need be no hesitation in giving full assent to its formal statement—every clause of which denotes not simply the sincerity, but the solicitude, even painful anxiety, of those who formed it; and it cannot be a matter of doubt that the solicitude was felt by all who sustained it by their vote, and the vote was unanimous. The preamble notes the fact of four years of service, of the call to Boston, and of the duty and wish of the Society, individually and collectively, to declare their estimate of Mr. Miner's labors. The resolutions affirm that the high expectations raised by his acceptance of the call of the Society in 1842, "have been more than realized;" that, while there is deep regret "that deleterious influences have during the past year (1845) seriously threatened the interests of truth in the city"—the allusion being to the unhappy episode in connection with the ill-fated Third Society, which has been briefly described—yet, in despite of all, the Second

Society "has been fully sustained ;" " that the able, zealous, and faithful services of Brother Miner, both ministerial and pastoral, entitle him to our most cordial thanks ;" " that, under the existing state of Universalism in Lowell, we should deem it a serious calamity if any circumstances whatever should produce a separation of our beloved pastor from this Society ;" and " that, in our deliberate judgment, no field of labor could be selected in which Brother Miner can be more useful," " for the present at least," and the hope is expressed that " the inducements which the Society and the circumstances shall place before him " will make it seem his duty to remain in Lowell.

There is very little of generality in this statement: on the contrary, it is a " bill of particulars," every one of which must have contributed to the end which the Society " collectively and individually " sought. The one, however, that must have seemed imperative, provided it truly stated the exigency, is the one implied by the clause, " a serious calamity." In truth, the exigency, the one growing out of the Third Parish's misfortune, involved perils with which Mr. Miner alone could successfully cope, and this he must have known. The result of his deliberation was the conviction that it was his duty to decline the call to Boston ; and Dr. Miner always did whatever presented itself to him in the garb of duty.

Fifty years ago the salaries voted to pastors were far below the totals which in these days are deemed reasonable compensation. The pastors of the two Lowell churches deemed a thousand dollars ample support for a

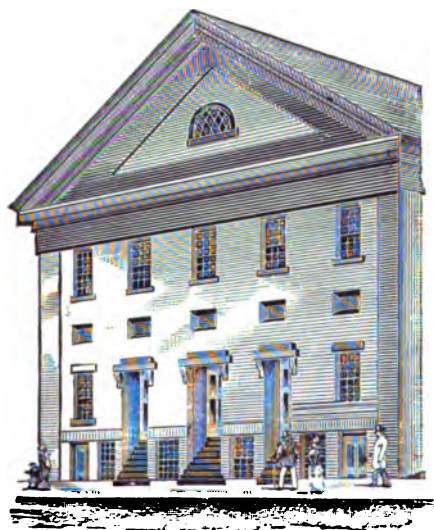
year which included fifty-two Sundays; the "vacation" was never thought of in the terms of the contract. If the pastor saw occasion to take a rest of two or more weeks he furnished his "supply." The church knew nothing of suspended services, and congregations were as large in July and August as in May or October, and as large in the afternoon as in the morning. It is therefore notable that soon after the decision to decline the call to the church on Warren Street, Boston, Mr. Miner's salary was increased to twelve hundred dollars, and the pastoral year was limited to forty-eight Sundays. The services were of course without intermission on a Lord's Day, but the expense was borne by the Society. Further, there were not a few Sundays on which Mr. Miner, whose health was never firm, was compelled to furnish a substitute; the expense incident to this was voluntarily assumed by the Society. He was not permitted to doubt that his parishioners were devoted friends. His lines fell in pleasant places, though to him exemption from duty and from care could never have made any situation pleasant. With him, faithful, continuous work up to, going often far beyond, the limits of his strength, was a normal condition. He once said to the writer, "I think it expedient to rest a few weeks in summer, and at times to get relief by a pulpit exchange; yet it is never so easy for me to prepare for the Sunday service as when I am steadily engaged in it. In fact, it takes a little time to recover from a rest!"

The Lowell pastorate was, all things considered, a very happy one. Pastor and people were of one mind and heart, and the aim of all was high, and the "plea-

sure of the Lord prospered" in their hands. The writer has often heard Dr. Miner say: "I did not want to leave Lowell; there I felt entirely at home; and had I consulted only my personal wishes I should have remained there years longer than I did." But if "a man's heart deviseth his way, the Lord directeth his steps." Various influences were conspiring to take him to the metropolis, a call to which he felt it his duty to decline in 1846. The "serious calamity," noted in one of the resolutions adopted by the parish in its effort to induce Mr. Miner not to accept the call to Warren Street, had become a thing of the past. It was wholly conquered. There was no danger, not even a symptom, of its resuscitation. A time had come when the parish could not be said to depend on the aid of any one man, however much the retaining of his service may have been desired. There was no apparent reason to fear hazardous results, should a wise and prudent pastor become his successor.

Reflecting on the outcome in the light of history, the conclusion to which the religious mind must come is that the hand of Providence was in the combination of influences which took Mr. Miner from the large church in Lowell to the pulpit of the principal church in the denomination — principal in view of what it had been and under Mr. Miner's charge became. Schism and secession had put the School Street Church in Boston in imminent peril, particulars of which belong to a later chapter. Rev. Mr. Chapin accepting a call to New York, the prosperity due to his exceptional eloquence would in all human probability have been temporary, would have been followed by a most serious shrinking,

had not a minister of commanding, even over-awing, ability been placed in the vacant pulpit. In fact, a call came to A. A. Miner, which, on due consideration, he felt it his duty to accept. And, with the acquiescence but painful regret of his people, he closed his ministry in Lowell in 1848. Particulars of his resignation, and acceptance of a new and vast responsibility, will be given in another chapter. In form here ends the history of the Lowell ministry of six years lacking two months.



THE OLD SCHOOL-STREET CHURCH.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE SECOND SOCIETY OF UNIVERSALISTS IN BOSTON—
ANTECEDENTS AND EARLY HISTORY.

FOR reasons which will be apparent to any one who studies the record, Universalism in America up to the year 1800 meant in substance Universalism in New England. Rev. John Murray preached it in the "Potter Meeting House," at Good Luck, N. J., in 1770, but the doctrine has never been hospitably received by the people of that State. The event, owing to the weird circumstances of the first meeting of Murray and Potter, is quite generally regarded as the beginning of Universalism on the Western Continent.¹ Its incipency, however, dates from a somewhat earlier period, notably in the preaching of Dr. George De Benneville in Oley, Pennsylvania; in whom, indeed, the incipient at times became quite manifest;² and in this State the "new doctrine," as it was called, found no little favor in the earlier period. Certain antecedents, particularly the waning strength of Calvinism in the metropolis,

¹ "Universalism came to America through at least five channels, independent of the teachings of Rev. John Murray." — *Universalism in America: a History*. By Richard Eddy, D. D., vol. i. p. 18.

² Great credit is due to the Rev. James Shrigley in bringing to light, with considerable detail, the pioneer work of De Benneville as a Universalist.

made the New England communities more willing to give a gracious hearing to the public utterances of Murray, Winchester, Rich, and their few compeers. There was in 1800 a society with an unfinished meeting-house in Philadelphia. There was a society with a house of worship in New York. But all of the Universalist preachers, the number not exceeding twenty, lived in New England. There were societies and "preaching stations" in New Hampshire, Vermont, Rhode Island and Connecticut. Dr. Thomas Whittemore, from whose "Life of Hosea Ballou" are gathered these facts, adds: "Massachusetts took the lead as to the number of preachers and believers, but even here they were 'few and far between.' The doctrine had prevailed somewhat in the counties of Suffolk, Essex, Bristol, and Norfolk, and slightly in Franklin; but in Worcester county more than in any other. . . . The General Convention of the New England States was the nucleus of Universalism."¹

If principally in New England, if of this region principally in Massachusetts, it would seem the "logic of events" that, of Massachusetts, Universalism would have its principal strength in Boston. Such at all events is the historic fact. Rev. John Murray preached in Boston in 1774, in what was known as "the Old French Church," on School Street, east of and adjoining the site of what at a later date was to be known as the Second Universalist Society. In October, 1793, Mr. Murray moved to Boston, becoming the pastor of the First Universalist Society. "The First Universalist

¹ Vol. i. pp. 153, 154.

Church was at the corner of North Bennet and Hanover Streets. It was a wooden building erected by seceders from the Old North, with Rev. Samuel Mather for their pastor. After the decease of Mather, in 1785, the house passed by purchase into the hands of the Universalists. The first pastor of the society was the Rev. John Murray, the father of American Universalism, who, it is said, was greeted with a shower of stones when he first attempted to preach in Boston."¹ To the First Society, Mr. Murray ministered until completely disabled by paralysis, October 19, 1809. For a short period Rev. Edward Mitchell served as associate-pastor, to be succeeded in August, 1813, by Rev. Paul Dean. Mr. Murray died September 3, 1815.

It affects a reader of to-day curiously to read in Dr. Whittemore's *Life of Hosea Ballou*, printed in 1854, that "the Second Universalist Society in Boston had grown out of a want long felt," adding: "The site of the meeting-house in which the First Universalist Society

¹ *Old Landmarks and Historic Personages of Boston*, by Samuel Adam Drake, p. 172. It is curious to note this indirect and anything but sympathetic connection of Murray and Universalism with the famous Mather family. The Samuel referred to by Mr. Drake, was a son of Cotton Mather, of witchcraft fame. While colleague-pastor of the Second Church (Congregational), Boston, in 1774, "a dissatisfaction arose against him (Samuel) in this church, partly from the charge of looseness of doctrine, and also of impropriety of conduct, and he with the smaller part of his membership withdrew, and established a separate church in Hanover Street, on the corner of Bennet." *McClintock and Strong*, article "Mather, Samuel (2), D.D." The "looseness of doctrine" was not in the direction of Universalism, of which Dr. Mather became a bitter antagonist. He was, however, the unwitting instrument of making a place for Murray. Older readers will remember the brick church, erected on the same site in 1838, where the Rev. Sebastian Streeter ministered for many years, and which yet remains as a Baptist Seamen's Bethel.

worshipped, although a good one in 1785, when the Universalists purchased it, was felt to be out of the centre, for the town was fast being settled in the south and west parts, and no small number of the Universalists had removed thither:" words which exactly describe the situation in 1896, with the exception that what the biographer said of the north end, is now said of the south and west ends, and what he said of the south and west is now habitually said of the suburbs — indicating a change of population going on in all the cities, and even in some of the towns. Such, however, was not the only reason which led to the formation of the Second Society. Dr. Whittemore continues: "But still another fact made a new Society desirable to many. The pastor of the First Society (Rev. Paul Dean) did not give his attention so much to *doctrines* of the Gospel as a large and very respectable portion of his parishioners felt it desirable that he should do. These facts, added to the strong belief that the time had come for the formation of another Society, and that it could be done without any material injury to the First, induced a body of gentlemen in 1816 to petition for an act of incorporation, as the 'Second Universalist Society in the town of Boston.' The act was regularly passed and signed by the Governor, December 13, and the first meeting under it was held January 25, 1817."¹

The Hon. Newton Talbot, for many years clerk of the Second Society, prepared a sketch of its history up to Mr. Miner's installation, May 31, 1848 — during which period up to December 5, 1872, the date of the dedica-

¹ Vol. ii. pp. 9, 10.

tion of the church on Columbus Avenue, it was familiarly known as the "School Street Society" — published as a contribution to a little book entitled "Our Gift." The following is a statement of the salient particulars of the formation of the Society, and building of a church, condensed from Mr. Talbot's brief history:

The Society, incorporated December 13, 1816, was organized January 25, 1817, Major John Brazer, the first Moderator. Under instructions, a committee selected a lot for a church-edifice on School Street, just west of the site of the "Old French Church," which was bought in May following. Subscriptions for one hundred and thirty-nine shares, each one hundred dollars, were taken by forty-three persons. The corner-stone was laid May 19, 1817, within which was deposited a silver plate, the gift of Dr. David Townsend, with this inscription: "The Second Universal Church, devoted to the Worship of the True God: Jesus Christ being the Chief Corner Stone." The house being completed, the service of dedication took place Thursday, October 15, 1817, Rev. Thomas Jones, of Gloucester, preaching the sermon.

In Dr. Miner's Historical Discourse, preached on occasion of the seventy-fifth anniversary of the Society, he mentions that the estimated cost of the church was \$22,000; that the hundred and thirty-eight pews, including twenty in the galleries, were valued from \$75 to \$420 each, making an aggregate valuation of \$33,930; that they were taxed from \$6.76 to \$17.16 per year, making an aggregate income of \$1,839.26 per year.

The church completed and dedicated, the next question, Who shall be the pastor? was for the hour all-important. It was, however, simply a formality. When the framers of the Constitution and the ratifications by States had made a republic, if any one asked: Who shall be President? the answer came ere the question was vocalized: Who but Washington? It had long "been in the air" who must have a pulpit in Boston. Near twenty years before it had been discovered that a Saul to the eye with the armor of David had arisen in the Universalist Israel, and in the person of one who at the time was but twenty-seven years old — one who began the ministerial career with much fear and trembling, almost losing the power of speech, and completely losing his "thread of thought;" and who in the self-distrust engendered by mortifying failure might never again have entered a pulpit but for the encouragement given him by his elders. At the age of twenty-eight he had not only recovered his courage but had also got his faculties in hand, and the great thinker and born orator had been heard in Boston. A contingency that made it inexpedient on his part to consider for a moment a call at a time when it must have drawn people from the congregation of his venerable senior, Mr. Murray, no longer existed at the date of the dedication of the church on School Street. He could but know whom the new Society had in mind when the building of the church was determined upon. Possibly a natural modesty kept him away from the dedicatory service, though an invitation to participate therein had been extended to him in due form.

In the seventy-fifth anniversary address, to which allusion has been made, Dr. Miner, having given particulars of the dedication of the church on School Street, adds: "Then came the day for which all other days in this history were made. October 21 (1817) was designated for the meeting to select a pastor. Members of the Society came to this meeting with one thought. The name of Hosea Ballou had long been in their minds. At the time he was the most prominent advocate of Universalism in New England, or in the United States. He had been twenty-six years in the ministry, and was forty-six years of age. He had travelled widely, and occupied several of the most important places in our Church. He was majestic in person, dignified in bearing, and of a noble presence. Wherever he went, crowds flocked to hear him. A great impulse was given to Universalism wherever he was heard. He was at once the most incisive and the most aggressive warrior in the church militant. . . . When the parish was assembled on the 21st of October, there was but one thing it could do. It had organized with Mr. Ballou in mind. It had built a church for his occupancy. It was about to realize its long-cherished hopes. By a sort of divine necessity it gave Hosea Ballou a unanimous invitation to its pulpit, which was accepted three days later." Mr. Talbot, in the sketch of which mention has been made, says: "He was publicly installed Christmas day, Dec. 25, 1817. The sermon, from John xx. 24, and the fellowship of the churches, were given by Rev. Paul Dean; installing prayer and charge by Rev. Edward Turner; and the concluding prayer by Rev. Joshua

Flagg." Mr. Ballou at once entered upon his new duties at a weekly salary of twenty-five dollars.¹

The expectations of the Society were more than realized. In the words of Dr. Miner: "A brilliant career was now fully inaugurated. The School Street Church became at once the centre of the most important influences. The divine love, in the hands of Mr. Ballou, was the key to an harmonious interpretation of the Scriptures and the rending away of those clouds of darkness that had so long enshrouded the human mind. The rhetoric of fire and of wrath and of the bottomless pit took its proper place as rhetoric, and divine love and compassion and sympathy and mercy became sacred realities. Rough men were softened, and innocent women and children could sleep at night. The fall in Adam fell out, the Trinity became a unity, and the darkness of eternal woe was illumined by the 'Sun of Righteousness.'"

The writer of this biography first heard Mr. Ballou in 1839 in the School Street Church; and, though too young to take in the full scope of the preacher's thought, felt deeply the spell of his commanding eloquence. He heard him twice on occasion of his preaching in Lowell three years later, and a few years later

¹ Hosea Ballou, son of a Baptist clergyman, was born in Richmond, N. H., April 30, 1771. From a study of the Bible, and without assistance from any other book, he became a Universalist about the time of his majority, the initial step being a Universalist interpretation of Romans v. 18, 57, 61. Becoming a preacher of his new faith, he gained rapidly in reputation as an original thinker and as an eloquent speaker, and easily distanced all his brethren in the estimation of the Universalists of the day. After John Murray, Elhanan Winchester, and Caleb Rich, he became the unchallenged leader of the denomination.

yet at conventions and associations. He also heard him on occasion of the United States Convention and mass meeting of the Universalists of Ohio at Akron in 1843, on which occasion the immense congregation filled the church, while thousands who stood or sat on the outside, the speaker standing on a platform in the window, seemed to feel the orator's accents like so many reeds in a tempest. Many who knew Mr. Ballou's record as a preacher testified that on the Akron occasion he rose to his highest flight of argument and eloquence. Dr. Miner's words in no particular exaggerate the great preacher's power to convince and move. Dr. O. F. Safford, who never saw Mr. Ballou, has, in his "A Marvellous Life Story," been signally successful in describing the oratorical gifts of the subject of his sketch. He has also gathered very pertinent facts. "From that day" — that of his becoming the School Street pastor — "the popular Sunday tide was turned toward his church. His sayings were reported; his adroit witticisms were kept on their errands for weeks among the people; his reasonableness and fearlessness were generally conceded by those who had once heard him in the pulpit. In order to accommodate the throngs who desired to hear him, he regularly preached twice on each Sunday. The seats of the church would be filled in the forenoon; the aisles would be filled in the afternoon. . . . The immense congregations were completely under the preacher's control."¹

From the time of Mr. Ballou's installation onward up to 1841 — a period of near a quarter of a century — the

¹ Page 137.

affairs of the Second Society were steadily prosperous, — outwardly attested by an increase of the pastor's salary in 1822, the building of vestry in the attic of the church, needful improvements of the interior, and the purchase of an organ ;¹ inwardly attested by a devotion to the pastor, whose unflinching fidelity to the truths which he had defended with unparalleled ability and with an eloquence which in these days would be pronounced "phenomenal" with hardly a precedent. Had Alonzo A. Miner been called to the associate pastorate in 1841, he would have assumed a responsibility which one of even great self-assurance might have ventured upon with painful anxiety — that of holding intact the strength of the Society, subject to the inevitable embarrassment of constant comparisons with the towering prestige of his senior ; such comparisons, even if wisely and considerately unexpressed, cannot be repressed in the thought ; they make a mountain of difficulty which only one with a giant's strength can remove. It is the shadow upon the hitherto bright record of the Society, that a few years later the task of "holding it intact" was to be preceded by that of recovering ground which, to an extent that threatened serious disaster, had been lost. It is the chief trophy in Dr. Miner's record in his distinctive character as a Universalist preacher and pastor, and it is a very great one, that, in many particulars recovering what had been lost, in other particulars creating a full equivalent of what was beyond the possibility of recovery, he supplemented new construc-

¹ It is matter of interesting record that the choir, regarded as of exceptional excellence, included in 1833, as soprano, Miss Charlotte Cushman, destined to the highest reputation in the histrionic art.

tive features of success by making his Society a centre and support in an imperative advance in denominational equipment.

Let the statement be made, in advance of the particulars, that the denominational achievements of Alonzo A. Miner are so many and so important, his leadership so conspicuous, and so willingly and gratefully conceded, that his most ardent admirers cannot, need not, ask that any laurel be put upon his brow that rightfully belongs to his co-workers. In many things the pioneer, he was not the pioneer in everything. In many regards a strong thinker—in the logical faculty Aristotelian—he had his peers, and in the systematizing of Universalist theology he had his more than peers. In a few movements, which time has tested to approve, his habit or instinct of patient deliberation—a great feature in his character that will have description in another chapter—made him come slowly to enterprises begun by others, but which, the instant he gave them support, were lifted into great prominence. His biographer will not only fail to do justice but also disappoint his own wishes if, in the proper connection, the services of Mr. Miner's co-workers do not have impartial statement. Here, however, it is to be said that his commanding leadership in the Second Universalist Society of Boston, was not only made a principal, by no means the only, centre of Universalism as a faith, keeping "intact" the work of Hosea Ballou, but in nearly all the essentials of the institutional and constructive phases of the denominational growth during a period of forty years—a period of progress literally marvellous—the pastor made that

Society a contributor, financial and influential, quite beyond what came from any other.

It has been said that during the quarter of a century in which Hosea Ballou gave to the Church on School Street the service of his vigorous strength, the history is that of great achievement and of steady prosperity. It has been intimated that a shadow came when the infirmities of years fell upon the pastor, making needful the assistance which only youthful energy can render. It not infrequently happens that a period of great Church prosperity is the precursor of misfortune equally great. The people get accustomed to a standard of merit which their feelings rather than their judgments demand of succeeding administrations. If the successor of a great preacher masters the position, it is proof that he too has exceptional powers. Certain it is that the subsidence of Mr. Ballou's labors brought a serious crisis to his Society. Mr. Talbot, in the sketch already quoted from, epitomizes the epoch of weakness, almost of disaster. He says:—

“In 1840 the subject of an associate-pastor was first brought forward; and in 1841 commenced those unfortunate difficulties in regard to it which continued with little interruption until the fall of 1845, when the proprietors were called together to act upon a proposition to sell the meeting-house, and wind up the affairs of the Society. This proposition was, however, rejected by a decisive vote of more than two to one, out of one hundred votes cast. During this period, the pulpit was supplied one half the time by Father Ballou, and the other half by Rev. T. C. Adam, from May 1842 to May 1843; by Rev. H. B. Soule from May 1844, to May 1845; and the other two years by the Standing Committee.

Those members of the Society who voted against the proposition to sell, had, early in that year, taken counsel together in regard to the future prosperity of the Society. Father Ballou expressed a willingness to be relieved from all active duties as pastor other than those he might choose to perform as senior pastor, and also to relinquish his salary if the Society felt that with their whole means they would be able to secure the services of one who would again unite them. Accordingly, September 28, 1845, the proprietors were called together, and his proposition was accepted. They also unanimously invited Rev. E. H. Chapin to become their junior pastor at a yearly salary of two thousand dollars."

In his seventy-fifth anniversary address, Dr. Miner threw light upon the proposition to sell the property and "wind up the affairs of the Society." "It is understood," he says, "that the movement originated with one or two men who, having become owners of a considerable number of pews, had a stronger regard for the profits of such a sale than for the spiritual interests of the Society," — a not improbable supposition, the case exemplifying the danger to Church property when held by proprietors, of being bought and sold like stocks in the market.¹ Accepting the Society's invitation, Mr. Chapin was installed January 28, 1846. His pastorate of two years and four months ended with his farewell sermon, preached the last Sunday in April, 1848 — he having accepted an invitation to New York.

¹ The frequency with which designing men get control of Church property with a view to speculation and their own emolument, through its sale and the "winding up of the Society," has led to the policy of deeding Church property, under needful limitations, to the State Convention, which makes impossible the diversion of the property to any use not contemplated by those whose offerings it represents.

Under his brief pastorate, "the Society," adds Mr. Talbot, "was united and prosperous."

It may be said that the Society, under the preaching of the most gifted pulpit orator of his time, was "united and prosperous" as a matter of course. But it is also a matter of course that the prosperity must largely have been quite personal as respects the preacher. So short a period as two years and four months could not, had the eloquence of the pulpit been supplemented by the most assiduous parochial duty, have knit the congregation into the unit and the devotion to the interests of the Society which alone can be a pledge of durability. In fact, another difficulty was placed in the way—a succession to such a preacher as Edwin Hubbell Chapin. It might have been regarded as sufficiently trying to step into the place where Mr. Ballou had stood so long; but the ordeal must have been seriously exacting when put in contrast with the orator Chapin also. Further, the success of Chapin was not inclusive of a healing of the wounds incident to the epoch of misfortune. The breach caused by the first endeavors to give Mr. Ballou an associate had been serious. A schism, that left at the time many vacant pews and very greatly reduced the size of the Sunday school, had led to the formation of a new and of course unfriendly Society, that for a time held services on Chardon Street. Some of the seceders had returned to the congregation and to the Sunday school, yet a larger number were firm in their dissent. No associate could recover all the disaffected. Could any successor make their places good? Comparisons with Ballou and comparisons with Chapin were

coupled with discouraging incidents and memories of the secession. Only a giant in strength and personal "magnetism" — a word not greatly in use forty years ago — could look forward to anything less serious than humiliating discomfiture had he accepted the School Street pastorate in 1848. It has been announced, and the sequel will make the announcement good, that an invitation, extended early in that year, being accepted, was to have for its outcome the conquering of every serious difficulty, the placing of the Society on a firmer financial basis, the increasing of its numerical strength, and the making it a most effective factor in the development of the "institutional" era in the history of Universalism in America.¹

¹ Knowing, after the event, the vast denominational enterprises that were to depend on the loyalty and munificence of the "School Street" Church, it is difficult to repress a shudder in view of its great peril in 1845, when it was seriously proposed to sell the property and "wind up" its affairs; of the time when the once large company of Sunday school teachers was reduced to Mr. and Mrs. Thomas A. Goddard and the members of the Lincoln family — of whom more later on; and the choir was reduced to the voluntary leadership of Mr. and Mrs. Goddard serving without money and without price. But the work of Hosea Ballou was not to be "wound up," and the pedestal was to remain upon which Alonzo Ames Miner was to stand, a powerful denominational leader, for more than forty years.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE CALL TO BOSTON—INCIDENTS OF ITS ACCEPTANCE.

AT a meeting of the Second Universalist Society in Boston, in the denomination better known as "School Street," held February 28, 1848, Rev. A. A. Miner of Lowell was invited to become the junior pastor (the venerable Hosea Ballou to remain as senior pastor), the salary being fixed at two thousand dollars a year — at that date a very liberal one. A little more than three weeks elapsed, during which period there was anxious, in some respects painful, consideration of the very serious proposal. The invitation was then accepted in a letter from Lowell, bearing date March 15. In that letter Mr. Miner says, and it can well be believed from the heart: "Although this decision seemed compatible with duty it has not been arrived at without a severe trial, both on account of the existing ties it will sever and of my conscious unfitness for so responsible a station." Rev. Mr. Chapin, accepting a call to New York, preached, as has been stated, his farewell sermon on the last Sunday of the April next succeeding. Mr. Miner began his forty-three years of service on the first Sunday next succeeding.

The few lines which make the preceding paragraph simply suggest a text, which if fully unfolded would fill

many pages. A few of the particulars have such salient importance, contain the premonition of so much that, if not peculiar to Mr. Miner's Boston ministry, is certainly a massive constituent, that justice to his memory and to his record makes a statement imperative. Mr. Miner did not "jump" at the call. He did not go through a dignified formality of giving a foregone conclusion consideration. In regard to possible contingencies he meant to have an "understanding," so detailed and explicit that future misapprehensions would be simply impossible. It is expected, it may be rightfully demanded, that a minister in taking a pastorate in any community shall consult the peculiar ways, practices, habits, even whims and prejudices, of the people, in marking out his matter and method of administration. A style very proper and practicable in Edinburgh might issue in nothing but failure in London. What is called for in New Orleans, in Chicago, in New York, in Boston, in Lowell, may, in some regards for the one city, be a waste of energy in any one of the other communities. It often happens that on leaving one parish for another, a different community, the minister is surprised to find that his "barrel" cannot serve him. If not the text, certainly the description and the application needful in one place will be a waste of words in another. When asked to leave Lowell for Boston, the general consideration that the new position might call for a style somewhat unlike the course which had been successful in the old one, gave Mr. Miner no occasion for deliberation: so much might be a matter of course. But in one supreme regard there must be no adaptation to the

ways of the new community — there was to be, it must be understood that there certainly would be, no receding or compromise or modification *in regard to great moral questions!*

Great cities may *contain* centres of great reform, but the city itself is never such a centre. Boston was the metropolis of New England, and its average morality was that usually incident to traffic. An immense part of its traffic was that of “dispensing the liquid damnation”; it manufactured many useful things, but it manufactured rum; its vessels brought molasses to Boston which Boston converted into rum. Its smaller craft shipped the “goods” to all the minor cities and towns on the coast; its larger craft shipped the article in great quantities to the African coast, to the further barbarizing of human beings barbarian by nature. Its “cultured” circles affected to believe in sobriety, but as for total abstinence that was the dream of fanatics. At many, if not at most, of the festive boards the glass and the decanter had chief place. Temperance, as A. A. Miner defined it, was not a Boston fashion: it was, indeed, at a very low ebb all over New England, but its lowest ebb was in its metropolis. Now the use of intoxicating liquors was to Mr. Miner equivalent to the abuse. Go where he would in Boston, at every public assembly of a secular character — it might happen to be one of a religious character — and in almost every instance — certainly there were exceptions — the so-called use, if not the demonstrative abuse, was sure to confront him.

Mr. Miner’s acceptance of the Boston call was accom-

panied with two conditions : in the pulpit and out of it he was to declare himself on the subject of temperance without compromise, without mincing of words, without estimating the effect on this pew or that, with an accent of purest purpose that could not be misconstrued. Further, for the parish collectively or individually there was to be no surprise — all were to know beforehand, in terms emphatic and unmistakable, exactly what to expect if he became Mr. Ballou's associate to assume the chief burden of duty and responsibility. The chairman of the committee appointed to carry the Society's invitation to Mr. Miner, took to him the assurance that, while some of the congregation might not agree with him in regard to certain particulars of the temperance movement, while some might not in all things do as he would like to have them, there was no intention, there was no desire, to hamper him in any particular. "The pulpit will be yours, and you will be the sole judge as to what you shall say and your way of saying it."

After this elaborately explained understanding, Mr. Miner felt that he had no option. He simply complied with the inevitable. The Lowell pastorate closed, and, the last day in May, 1848, he assumed all the duties of the Boston pastorate as the associate of Rev. Hosea Ballou.¹ The installation service took place May 31,

¹ In the later anniversary commemorations of his settlement in Boston, Dr. Miner not infrequently made grateful mention of the good faith with which the Society had kept to the letter and spirit of the contract. It, however, never occurred to him to add that at no time during his ministry would ears at all sensitive to the relentless application of the moral law to the colossal national and social iniquities have found a quiet asylum in the congregation either in School Street or Columbus Avenue.

1848, in the presence of a large congregation, the intense interest not suffering a break or even a chill to the last spoken word. The order was as follows: Reading of the Scripture, Rev. J. S. Dennis, the new pastor of the Society on Warren Street; installing prayer, Rev. Darwin Mott; original hymn, Rev. A. A. Miner, the candidate; sermon, Rev. E. H. Chapin; anthem; installing prayer, Rev. Hosea Ballou, the senior pastor; charge, Rev. Hosea Ballou, 2d; right hand of fellowship, Rev. Cyrus H. Fay; address to the Society, Rev. Sebastian Streeter, pastor of the First Church on Hanover Street; hymn; concluding prayer, Rev. T. D. Cook; benediction, the candidate. Of these, only Messrs. Fay and Dennis survive.



A. A. Miner

A. A. MINER AT THE AGE OF THIRTY-FIVE.

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CHAPTER XV.

THE MINISTRY IN BOSTON—THE JUNIOR PASTORATE
ON SCHOOL STREET.

IT can rarely be said that a minister steps into an assured position. In most cases he is compelled to make his position. A new face and a new voice attract or repel new people. There are usually a few reliable parishioners whose devotion is first of all to the cause, to the parish, to the church. No minister can be so inefficient, it may be added so unworthy, as to drive them from the congregation. They may be called the "parish guard," never so alert in duty and loyalty as in the time of alienation and of trouble. To such, Rome is more than Cæsar. But relatively not a few, too often very many, "go to meeting" because they "like the minister," and hence desert the congregation if the minister fails to please. The minister makes or fails to "make a position," according to his success or lack of success in moulding this shifting sand into a rock of stable support. When a pastor is seen to be strong in his "position," it will very generally be found that, so far from finding it, he has, in most particulars, been its constructor.

Mr. Miner's entrance upon his Boston pastorate might have seemed, on a superficial view, to be an exception to the rule. The circumstances under which the Society

in School Street had its origin, the great ability, the fiery zeal, the marvellous eloquence, and the pure character of the man who for near twenty-five years had been its only pastor, might seem to warrant the inference that his work must have been impervious to successful attack or disintegration. He certainly won to his support very strong and reliable families. In his list of parishioners were men and women who shared not alone his zeal but his relentless devotion to the faith. But the many are called, the few are chosen. The elect are never the majority, and the "rank and file" seldom emulate their tenacity of purpose. Not even his Imperial Guard could save Napoleon on the field of Waterloo. Certain it is that the Second Society was destined to pass through a very trying ordeal, particulars of which ordeal have been noted: happily it may be added that in good degree the "parish guard" did for it what Napoleon's idolaters could not do for him. It confronted great danger in the schemes of men whose outward devotion was a cover to the ends of greed, and the position had, through faction and secession, been seriously weakened — particulars of which unhappy history have been given. Mr. Miner's Boston pastorate forms, therefore, no exception to the rule: for the greater part — by no means the whole of it — his great position and commanding prestige were to be his own creation.

The present work aims to exhibit the character and work of Alonzo Ames Miner. The history of the Second Universalist Society, interesting and instructive, has therefore not been permitted to enter into the plan except in those particulars of the Society's career that are

thought to be needful to a just portrayal of the great minister who is the subject of this biography. But these exceptional particulars are many, and, though given with an effort to compress as far as practicable, have filled several of the preceding pages. Dr. Miner's part in the history of the Society could not be justly estimated without at least a brief recital of the antecedents of his labors, in it and for it. The beginning of his ministry in Boston is now reached. From the date May 31, 1848, the day of Mr. Miner's installation, to Jan. 10, 1892, the date of the installation of his successor — Rev. Stephen H. Roblin¹ — Dr. Miner was officially and actually the pastor of the Society, due mention to be made in the proper connections of two junior pastorates. In this long period of more than forty-three years, the history of Dr. Miner is largely the history of the Society, and the history of the Society largely that of Dr. Miner.

In part because in the metropolis, in part because the great abilities of Hosea Ballou had made it conspicuous among the conspicuous, the pulpit of the School Street Society was the loftiest platform upon which any representative of New England Universalism could stand. If by accident a weak man had been officially placed in it for his brief day — it could but be very brief — he, for the time, would have been noted as having, would as matter of course have been said to have, exceptionally strong qualities. If a man of towering gifts were made the incumbent, the pedestal and the shaft would have

¹ Mr. Miner's Boston pastorate began May 1, 1848; Mr. Roblin's, Jan. 1, 1892, the intervening period making a period of 43 years and 8 months.

made a symmetrical appearance. Alonzo A. Miner, even had he remained the quiet village pastor, must have gained public recognition and commanded respect for exceptional talents; but standing in the pulpit which Ballou and Chapin had vacated, he at once became famous in the Universalist Israel; and it was a real greatness, fully equal to its setting, never to know disillusion. After Mr. Chapin removed to another and somewhat distant state, Mr. Miner, by common consent, became, and very quickly, the leading, the most popular Universalist minister in the New England States. He was put on the "programmes" of dedicatory, ordination, and installation services. He must preach at the conventions and associations. If there were special meetings such as are held on Anniversary Week in Boston, though he never sought an honor, he must be heard from pulpit or platform. He must have place on all manner of denominational committees, usually the chairman or else the secretary. In the earlier years of his pastorate the Boston Association was the principal Universalist organization, — not in rank, however, but as an organization having power, where other denominational organizations had simply the prerogative of advising. In that body Mr. Miner very early became the equal in influence of Streeter, Whittemore, Skinner, and the second Hosea Ballou; and these associates were not slow in forcing leadership upon him.

The Second Society was technically in School Street in Boston, but practically, influentially, through its minister, it was in every denominational enterprise. Mr. Ballou could not, did not wish to, suppress his intense

satisfaction with his young colleague. There was no "old man's jealousy" in view of the popularity of his relatively young associate and virtual successor. He felt toward Mr. Miner, not as one displaced may feel towards one whom he regards as a novice, but as a father towards a well-beloved son. He felt a pride in his associate's rising fame and influence. He usually sat in the pulpit during the service of the sanctuary, and though never demonstrative in terms of praise, his look was sufficiently expressive of approval, and at times, in characteristic humor, he would say, "Brother Miner, the devil will never thank you for that sermon." And the young man never disguised his satisfaction that his labors had the sustaining approval of his honored and renowned senior. Mr. Ballou had been mainly an instructor in doctrine. He had all faith in the letter and spirit of the Gospel, and his practice was equivalent to saying, "If I preach the Gospel, the Gospel itself will do all else." With the exception of temperance as a rule of life, what soon came to be known as the Reforms had not got into vogue. Under Mr. Miner these departures were very great, very marked, particularly as regarded the national evil of slavery, more particularly as the "peculiar institution" — the name given to it by Mr. Calhoun — became aggressive and showed a spirit of propagandism. Though Mr. Miner rarely made slavery, temperance, or other reforms, matter of continuous discourse, he was, in the language of a parishioner in conversation with the writer, "always hitting one or the other right and left." It would not have been strange if these departures from the older fashion

unshrinking confidence. His love of approbation, however, never had the flavor of vanity; his self-confidence never had a haughty bearing. But he must have known that he had exceptional gifts, that in many regards he towered above his brethren. He could not in reason doubt that if any Universalist minister could be equal to the great requirements of the church on School Street, he must be the man. The invitation had therefore come to him as truly a call of duty. It was of such a character that a man of unselfish spirit and of consecration to the cause could not resist, had no right to resist. It was by vote a call of the Boston Second Society; it was in truth a divine call. It was an imperial command; and Mr. Miner had but distinctly and understandingly to hear it, and then obey.

Dr. Miner was thoroughly, heartily, even passionately, a parish minister and denominational supporter and leader. In another chapter the fact that he was too great, too broad, too varied in his moral and humanitarian sympathies for any parish, or any sect, or any community, will have statement with unrestricted particulars. The Boston ministry is, in special relation to his work in the School Street Church, for this chapter the sufficiently comprehensive theme, and as far as practicable — it cannot be wholly practicable — will be described without mixture with great matters outside his parish and denomination. Let it not be inferred, however, from this explanatory statement, from the implied fact that other than parish and denominational interests enlisted his zeal and activity, it was ever possible for such a man as Dr. Miner to neglect any parish duty. On

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the contrary, the man who, by some mysterious art, found time for everything, never stinted the time which he devoted to the people of his congregation. He never entered his pulpit without preparation. Though in later years he seldom took a full manuscript, he usually had before him, or at hand, a very elaborate brief or "skeleton," upon which he had expended much time and care. The subject was carefully outlined; leading divisions were sub-divided; hints of illustration were interspersed at the proper places; and over this he meditated until it was as distinct and orderly in his mind as on the crowded paper. While the sole pastor his fidelity to parochial duty was, in view of the many calls upon him and the many extra responsibilities which he had assumed, something to evoke wonder, and there is incitement in the baldest statement of particulars. His parish and church duties not only included the preaching of gospel sermons, usually with the ring of what he and his people deemed "sound doctrine," and always with the purpose of moral and spiritual utility, but also the visiting of his people, — his wife often accompanying him, — the visits never formal or Pharisaic, but always of a nature to impress the ends and aims of Christian living; the never failing attendance upon the aged, the infirm, the dying, and those in trouble and bereavement; the officiating at the last rites over those called from earth, and at the marriage altar; the supervision of, or at least the manifesting of care for, every interest in the Sunday school, the church, and auxiliary societies; the looking after the needy, the unfortunate, and those who had fallen by the way; the giving un-

pretentious audience to the many who called upon him for advice and counsel; and often the seeking of opportunities to proffer needful words of caution and of encouragement,—in brief, the attending to all of the many and varied details of pulpit and parochial service, making himself or showing himself the ideal pastor, he all the while unconsciously rooting himself in the affections of his people, making his life in no small measure part and parcel of their better lives. In this general summary are included incidents which would fill volumes, but which cannot, need not, be recorded. A page or two, then, gives the bulk of the better part of his ministry in School Street, Boston,—to be renewed, as will be explained later, in Columbus Avenue. The parts which cannot be given in the particulars, those which refuse to go into a statistical table, at least nine-tenths of a faithful pastorate, can have little fellowship with words.

. There are, however, events or episodes in the history of the Boston pastorate that had the epochal character, and which admit of and call for brief description. Regarding the installation service as not only first but principal, the remodelling of the edifice on School Street may be set down as the second in chronological order. The church in its original form was a large, plain building, placed on a line with the sidewalk, with very narrow vestibule, without a vestry, and with a minimum of interior decoration. At a later period a vestry was finished in the attic, of narrow and difficult approach. An organ and a new pulpit had been added to the furniture; and there were other improvements, all at a total

cost of about five thousand dollars. Yet it was antique, and on the whole unattractive to the eye.

Early in 1851, and as indirect testimony to the prosperity of Mr. Miner's labors, about nineteen thousand dollars were appropriated to the making of very radical improvements. The brick edifice, under a new and useful art, was without difficulty lifted several feet, and set back to the southern boundary line, giving considerably more room in front; the architect certainly added to the convenience in front, but it may be doubted if he added, if it were possible to add, much beauty thereto. It was to the eye the least meritorious part of the transformation. But the interior, in a common but expressive phrase, could "hardly know itself." The change, in every particular an improvement, alike on the score of beauty and of convenience, was substantially a new creation. "A vestry had been constructed in the basement, which was a room of great convenience and beauty; but when the spectator entered the great room or chapel, he was most forcibly struck with the greatness of the change. The walls were beautifully colored, and back of the pulpit was an elegant design, executed in imitation of fresco. The old pews were entirely removed, and new ones of a modern style were put in, arranged in segments of circles, so that every person sat facing the speaker. The pews were all trimmed with a material of uniform fabric and color. The desk was of a new pattern, built of rosewood, and was of an exquisite workmanship."¹

¹ Whittemore's *Life of Hosea Ballou*, vol. iv. pp. 261, 262. Possibly Dr. Whittemore's description is somewhat extravagant.

To Mr. Miner the months of "suspended animation" as a parish proved to be a notable epoch indeed. He made it his first opportunity to cross the ocean and visit noted places in the Old World,— particularly in England, France, and Italy.

The closing of the church followed immediately after Sunday, March 30, on which day services appropriate to the occasion were held, Mr. Miner preaching in the morning on the Divine Promises—their Stability and Certainty; Mr. Ballou in the afternoon, from Proverbs ix. 1-6, "Wisdom hath builded her house," etc. The contemplated four or five months of suspension, as not infrequently happens, were considerably extended so far as the church improvements are simply considered, the reconstructed edifice not being ready for occupancy until early in December. Services were, however, resumed in Wesleyan Hall at the expiration of the four months. Of course there was a formal opening or service of rededication, Rev. Mr. Ballou offering the dedicatory prayer, Rev. Mr. Miner preaching the sermon; the other parts by Rev. Messrs. O. A. Skinner, Sebastian Streeter, Sumner Ellis, and H. Ballou, 2d.

On the voyage to Europe Mr. Miner had what was most literally an "incident by the way." For some reason the voyage, on a sailing ship, was considerably delayed, provisions ran low, and passengers and crew were put "upon allowance." Yet there was no serious suffering, and no other incident to make the voyage particularly memorable. The natural curiosity to know particulars of the European experience happily needs no description at the hands of the biographer. During his

absence Mr. Miner wrote frequent letters to his wife and relatives, detailing his sights and observations, and several of these will have place in the succeeding pages.

The very great difference between drawing a congregation — which “mere preaching,” if particularly eloquent, may easily do — and the knitting the members in fraternal bonds and the fellowship of Christian work, so cementing the membership that it will hold together even after the pulpit idol leaves, — which “mere preaching” can never do, — has explanation and elucidation in the chapter on the Methuen pastorate, in which chapter it is shown that A. A. Miner knew the difference and made practical application of his knowledge. That considerable of this “knitting” and consolidating had been done in the first three years of his labors in School Street was very evident to the parish committee, which voted to suspend services during the period of four months of the church alteration, and to grant the junior pastor as many months leave of absence, — four months, the records say; in his sermon on the seventy-fifth anniversary, Dr. Miner states it as five months. The several Universalist parishes in the city sent invitations to the congregation to worship with them during the interim. The result proved that the society could “hold together” four or five months, or what proved to be eight months, even if its accustomed place of worship were in the hands of architect and builders; however, at the end of the designated period, services were resumed in Wesleyan Hall.

When a great man, and one whose mission it has been to work almost revolutionary changes in the thinking

and the conduct of a large portion of the community, and through this portion very greatly to modify the religious thought of his time, passes from earth, no consideration of great age and even of infirmities can make the event other than startling and solemnly impressive. It may be recollected that he has lived beyond the usual period of a life on earth, that his active work has ended, and that his near departure is among things inevitable. None the less there is an aching void and a widespread and profound sense of bereavement, and for the moment the hand on the dial seems to have suspended motion.

Well does the writer remember the annual session of the Massachusetts Convention of Universalists held in Plymouth Wednesday and Thursday, the second and third of June, 1852. When the session began on the morning of Wednesday, the absence of one person occasioned remark, as he rarely permitted such an opportunity to come and go without his personal presence. Soon word came that a severe illness, betokening the final change, had befallen the patriarch, and the most distinguished person in the denomination, — the one who had done more than any other in shaping its faith and in making converts to it. The great Hosea Ballou was evidently on his bed of death! The house of worship in Plymouth became, even before the end, a house of mourning. There was sadness on every countenance, and delegates and visitors felt as if in the shadow of a great bereavement. A five o'clock morning conference was held on Thursday. Scripture, prayer, and hymn evidently had their suggestion in the sad event which all felt must be near. Rev. R. Tomlinson, the local pastor,

gave out and read to be sung the hymn which contained the following stanzas, and as he articulated the significant lines, not a few wept : —

“ One family, we dwell in him ;
One Church above, beneath ;
Though now divided by the stream,
The swelling stream of death.

“ One army of the living God, —
To his command we bow ;
Part of the host have crossed the flood,
And part are crossing now.”

The arrival of each train was anxiously awaited, and the news in every instance was painfully ominous. Mr. Ballou had reached venerable years, but his health and vigor had been so stalwart that the probability of his sudden death had not entered the thought of those who held him in their hearts. The Sunday preceding the date of the Convention he had preached in Woonsocket, R. I. He returned the Monday succeeding. On Tuesday he suffered pain in his shoulder, and coughed frequently. Yet he did not deem the symptoms serious, and arose Wednesday morning and made preparations to go to Plymouth. He soon, however, discovered that he was too weak for the journey. The unfavorable symptoms rapidly increased. The children in the city were soon at his bedside, a telegram despatched promptly bringing his son, Rev. M. B. Ballou, of Stoughton. The constitution of oak was reluctant to yield, but the end was unmistakably near. Hosea Ballou died Monday, the 7th of June, 1852, at the age of 81 years, 1 month, and 7 days.

The society with which, as sole and senior pastor, Mr. Ballou had been connected for about thirty-five years, sought and procured permission to take charge and bear the expenses of the funeral services, which were of course held in the church within the walls of which his voice had been so often heard in fervent prayer and eloquent discourse. The appointed day was the Wednesday succeeding — the 9th of June, and in every essential the service was befitting the memory of the great man whose earthly remains were to be conveyed to their resting-place. The pastor, no longer a junior, Rev. A. A. Miner, preached the sermon from the very appropriate text, 2 Corinthians v. 1: "For we know, that if our earthly house of this tabernacle were dissolved, we have a building of God, an house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens." It was the mission of Dr. Miner to preach or give the principal address on occasion of the deaths of Universalist ministers in and near Boston far more frequently than befell to any of his brethren; the names of the first and second Ballou, Balfour, Cobb, Thayer, Knowlton, Spaulding, Moor, readily occur, and the list could be extended. But with all save Walter Balfour he was contemporary in service, and with many the senior in years. He had known Hosea Ballou in his youth. Very early in his profession he sat with him in the pulpit and took part in the service, and he felt for him the deference, and in a degree had for him the reverence and even the feeling of awe, which, incident to extreme youth in the presence of age, are seldom conquered. What may be called the "boy-feeling" towards the man of

mature years tempered and characterized all his relations to and interviews with the deceased. There is no record or memory of his feeling as he stood in the pulpit, in the presence of the vast assembly which, before the hour of three, filled pew, aisles, and entrance ways, to take the chief part in the solemn rites. But it will be readily believed that his self-control, which never failed him, was put to the severest test he was ever to know in the presence of a congregation. Not the vastness of the assembly, nor the presence of nearly all the Universalist clergy in a vicinity the diameter of which was not less than fifty miles, nor the attendance of noted clergymen of other denominations, and of citizens high in station and influence, could awe him. But the thought that in the casket before him lay all that was earthly of the great Apostle of American Universalism, in whose living presence he had not a little of the child-feeling for an honored and beloved parent, must have made the solemn hour epochal in the life and work of Alonzo Ames Miner. He was, however, equal to the exacting occasion.

The sermon fitly began with distinct mention of the solemnity of the hour and the service, — the inanimate clay seeming to repeat the words of the Master, "I have finished the work which thou gavest me to do;" it gave the intimation that the affliction was deeper than had ever before been felt or witnessed in the house of worship where Hosea Ballou had wrought so effectively for what he deemed the gospel truth; it said truly that the preacher was himself a mourner, and did duty permit he would have had a seat with the family and other

relatives. The question was spontaneous: "Ye children of the honored dead, ye worshippers at the altar of his love, ye ministers of that Gospel which was the delight of his heart, what words can befit this place and hour?" The text was declared to be specially appropriate in that it affirmed not a speculation but a certainty, — "We *know* that we have a building of God." The earthly body was but the temporal dwelling; the house builded by God is "eternal in the heavens." The question was raised, "Can there be any doubt that the event of death removes one from all those temptations which originate in the flesh?" and it was added in the implication of another question — "May not the wonderful experience it brings to every soul be an occasion of unsurpassed good?" — that the agency is moral, not material; and it was explicitly averred that death is to be regarded not as "the source," but only as "the instrumentality," bringing the soul "into more immediate contact" with the truth which alone can save. The preacher would not say that the venerable father had fallen. He had risen. "To sense he has gone down like the sun at the close of a glorious summer day; but to the eye of faith he has ascended to the home of our God." The sermon proceeded to note leading particulars in Mr. Ballou's life, — the character and vast influence of his services in expounding, and creating believers in, the glad tidings of a final and universal redemption from sin and pain; and tribute was paid to his character as "without spot or blemish." "But," the preacher well said, "why speak of the character and goodness of such a man? Why say that the sun shines?

His character is known and read of all men. Ah! it is the utterance of our hearts. Affection clings in fondness to these sacred memories. Are not his remains before us? His children in the gospel must speak freely of him." Tender words of consolation were spoken to the group of mourners, — who had, however, many reasons for profound gratitude; and to them, and to all, the great and radiant example of Christian faith and virtue was commended in solemn and impressive accents.

The following hymn, "Death of a Faithful Minister," was sung: —

On Zion's holy walls
Is quenched a beacon light;
In vain the watchman calls, —
"Sentry! what of the night?"
No answering voice is here:
Say — does the soldier sleep?
O yes — upon the bier,
His watch no more to keep.

Peace to thee, man of God!
Thine earthly toils are o'er.
The thorny path is trod
The Shepherd trod before.
Full well he kept his word, —
"I'm with thee to the end;
Fear not! I am the Lord,
Thy never-failing friend."

We have no dirge for thee;
It should not call a tear
To know that thou art free;
Thy home — it was not here.
Joy to thee, man of God!
Thy heaven course is begun,
Unshrinking thou hast trod
Death's vale — thy race is run.

Other parts in the service were rendered by Rev. O. A. Skinner, pastor of the church on Warren Street,

who read the Scriptures; Rev. Thomas Whittemore, who offered prayer; and Rev. Sebastian Streeter of the church on Hanover Street, who offered the concluding prayer. The casket was then taken for a temporary burial to the cemetery at the foot of the Common, — the funeral procession being a half mile in extent. Subsequently it was taken to Mount Auburn, where a life-size statue in marble, the gift of the denomination, — there being a particular request that no one would proffer a larger sum than one dollar, that the opportunity might be open to all, — marks the final resting-place of all that was mortal of Hosea Ballou.

Ruth Washburn, wife of Hosea Ballou, died in Boston March 1, 1853, at the age of 74 years. Her remains were placed by the side of her husband in Mount Auburn Cemetery. In the spring of 1896 their grandson, Mr. Benjamin B. Whittemore, caused to be placed upon the monument — (which previously bore the name of "Ballou" only) — the following inscription: —

HOSEA BALLOU		
1771	—	1852
Pastor of the Second Society of Universalists in Boston		
1817	—	1852
his wife		
RUTH WASHBURN		
1779	—	1853

CHAPTER XVI.

THE MINISTRY IN BOSTON — A DECADE OF PROSPERITY INTERRUPTED.

THE prosperity of the society worshipping on School Street continued without interruption for the fifteen years succeeding the event that made Mr. Miner the sole pastor. The Sunday congregation could know of little increase, the limits of the house of worship being reached. The Sunday school, under the superintendency of Mr. Thomas A. Goddard, — as prominent and efficient among the laity of the denomination as was the pastor among the clergy, and, all the particulars of his varied and efficient service considered, at the time the principal layman in the Universalist Zion, — had fully recovered from the disastrous effects of the schism which led to the attempt to hold separate services on Chardon Street; and, profiting by the great facilities furnished by the new vestry in the basement, had reached the full possibilities of the greater space. In his Historical Discourse on occasion of the seventy-fifth anniversary of the society, Dr. Miner is thoughtful and just not only in his estimate of the success and efficiency of the Sunday school, but in tribute to the merits of the men who had presided over its interests. He says: —

"In 1848, I found a school of eighty members, with an average attendance for the two preceding years of sixty. Holding its sessions in Murray Hall, an exceedingly inconvenient location, it nevertheless grew, under the superintendence of Thomas A. Goddard, to the crowding of its quarters. In the new vestry below the church it continued to increase until it numbered between four and five hundred. Our tribulations in 1867 somewhat diminished our numbers, and removal to this part of the city"—on Columbus Avenue—"appeared to tend in the same direction. Our present number of about two hundred appears to promise an increase. The office of superintendent has always been worthily filled: B. B. Mussey, William E. Stowe, Col. Isaac Hull Wright (son-in-law of Father Ballou), and Edwin Howland, in the earlier time; and of the later time, Thomas A. Goddard, James D. Perkins, Rev. Dr. H. I. Cushman, and B. B. Whittemore (son of Rev. Dr. Benjamin Whittemore, and grandson of Father Ballou), who is the present superintendent, have generally brought to their work marked ability, and most of them have served for a protracted period. In this respect, however, Mr. Goddard led the whole list, having served thirty-one years, including two years abroad, during which he held the office. His large means, relative freedom from family cares, and his warm sympathy and Christian prayers for the young gave him an influence to which few men can attain. Yonder window on my right, the gift of Mrs. Goddard, commemorates this service. He was in every way a tower of strength to the parish. Let it not for a moment be supposed, however, that in mentioning some names we undervalue the great service of many others. All along the line of parish, church, and Sunday-school interests, there have been numerous workers, skilful, prudent, diligent, and efficient, who would have been a high honor to any cause to which they might have devoted themselves. Thus will it be seen that the society has maintained in all the great lines of Christian effort marked

stability, notwithstanding its large contributions of members to many of the suburban parishes. It has always been most generous and most considerate towards its pastors, two of whom cover the whole period of its history and overlap each other four years."

In attempting to estimate the good done by any useful organization, two effects, though vitally connected, may be considered, — the good directly done to the individual members, and the good done through them. Sunday schools would be failures indeed if they did not benefit in both of these regards. It is making no peculiar claims for the school connected with the Second Society that alike upon scholars and officers its beneficent effects were very noticeable. The same indeed can be most emphatically claimed for every Universalist school in and near Boston during the School Street pastorate of Mr. Miner. Without making comparisons, it is to be noted here that not a few children who came under his care and his direct and immediate influence, became very efficient teachers, and later, superintendents and notable workers for the denomination. Thomas A. Goddard had passed his early youth, had shown himself a pillar of parish, church, and school, in the days of weakness and anxiety incident to unsuccessful efforts to procure for Mr. Ballou an associate on whom all could unite, — particulars of which unhappy epoch have been given, — and further, he was the kind of man who needed no special influencing: in all things he acted from himself, and wisely, and to good results. None the less, the mark of A. A. Miner was put upon him, and, pertinent in this connection, no small fraction

of that mark was made through the instrumentality of the school for which he worked with a devotion that never grew cold for the years of a generation ; in which tribute the pen must be just, even if in contravention of instructions from the person directly interested, and add that every word of it rigidly applies to Mrs. Goddard. Other particulars of Mr. and Mrs. Goddard, and of other workers in the same school, will have place later in an attempt to show that the school was a factor in the total of influences that led to immediate and remoter service in behalf of the Universalist Church and its institutions.

The pastor, it must be added, was more than an "influence" in his Sunday school. He had a custom, — was it original ? — of massing all the scholars into a single class, and teaching and training them in general Biblical instruction. The questions were put, and then answered in concert ; and then by much repetition he succeeded — to use one of his favorite words — in "ingraining" the particulars in their memories, in good measure in their minds. Out of this grew his little text-book, which met with great favor in many schools connected with other parishes.¹ During the School Street period his devotion to the Sunday school was only equalled by his faith in it as an auxiliary of the church. At a later period, when the study and recitation, the "ingraining," had given place to exposition on the part of the teacher, he was moved to moderate his estimate, and to complain that the school seemed to lose in efficiency about in proportion to the increase in the erudition which had been expended in its behalf.

¹ Bible Exercises : or The Sunday School One Class.

A separate chapter must be given to an analysis and exemplification of Dr. Miner's wonderful genius for administration, which will be made apparent in the many needful organizations and institutions, some of which he projected, and all of which he furthered, rendering his denomination a service the amount and quality of which can with difficulty be estimated. In fact, the varied lines of Dr. Miner's work, though specifically distinct in the thought, so mingle and interlace in the concrete that no one can have much elucidation without trenching upon the ground proper to others. Not a few of these activities are in some measure — with some greater, with others less — part and parcel of the prosperity of the Boston ministry. Let specification be given in another and perhaps more legitimate connection.

It has been said that for a period of about fifteen years the prosperity of the Second Society in Boston was steady, firm, and without chill. Then came an epoch of disaster, with alienation, division, and, for a time, diminution of strength. For reasons which will have statement in another chapter, it became expedient for Mr. Miner to accept, without salary, the presidency of Tufts College, in a period of its financial need and even danger. The society gave its consent, even approval, to the transfer of so much of his labor to another interest. This was in June, 1862, — the specially disastrous period in the War of the Rebellion. Better times — as will be noted elsewhere — came to the college, and it was decided to give Dr. Miner a colleague, he retaining the place of senior, — the bulk of his salary coming from the improved finances of the college. A colleague, or junior

pastor, was found in the person of Rev. Rowland Connor, then of Concord, N. H., who entered upon duty the 2d of January, 1867, — this being the date of his installation. At this service Dr. Miner preached the sermon, other parts being taken by Rev. Messrs. C. J. White, C. A. Skinner, E. H. Chapin, A. J. Patterson, T. B. Thayer, H. C. Delong, and O. F. Safford. It very soon appeared that Mr. Connor's views and theological sympathies and affiliations were in such pronounced antagonism to the traditions, convictions, and denominational proclivities of the society from the first, and in such utter dissonance with what the senior pastor deemed essential to the integrity and Christian vitality of the Universalist Church, that it was impossible the new pastoral arrangement should long continue. By vote of the society, June 27, 1867, emphatic dissatisfaction was declared. At an adjourned meeting Mr. Connor was asked to resign. Compliance with the request was accompanied with conditions that were deemed unsatisfactory. A vote of the proprietors, passed July 30, dismissed the junior pastor. In the Seventy-fifth Anniversary Discourse, Dr. Miner thus describes the result: —

“Some excellent members of the parish were temporarily misled and aggrieved; but soon discovering their mistake, in a most manly and Christian manner they returned to their former relations, where they were gladly welcomed. What might have become a great disaster was averted by the pastor's entering upon a discussion of the vital elements of Christianity in a somewhat protracted series of discourses. But there is an element of good in things evil. The press of the city, which had little occasion for gratitude to the

senior pastor for any high commendation of its work, took occasion to denounce him, as well as his parish, for what it was pleased to call their 'bigotry and narrowness.' The whole public was thus made aware that the Universalist Church not only adhered indissolubly to temperance on the one hand, but also to Christ and the Bible on the other. From that day on the classifying of Universalists with infidels, atheists, deists, sceptics, and drunkards, entirely ceased. The work of an unfriendly press accomplished in a month what our whole church could not have done in twenty years."

In the providential way which Dr. Miner describes doubtless there was misfortune overruled for good, particularly in view of popular prejudice against Universalism, its identity with infidelity being the chronic allegation, which was far deeper then than at the present date. None the less, if the wound healed, it left a scar in painful memories and lacerated sympathies and dis-severed affection not less real because prudently and loyally suppressed in speech. Undoubtedly, the episode was a serious check in the hitherto uninterrupted prosperity of the School Street Society, Church, and Sunday school.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE MINISTRY IN BOSTON—AN ASSOCIATE-PASTOR.

THE financial condition of the College, though greatly improved, and other particulars of its administration, made needful, almost imperative, the continuance of Dr. Miner's service as its president; but, concurring with the trustees and assenting to their wish, the Second Society could not entertain the thought of parting with him as the senior pastor. Hence, the effort was promptly made to secure an associate. At a meeting held March 31, 1868, voting "That it is the earnest desire of the Society that the relation of Dr. Miner to it, as senior pastor, may be made a permanent one," it also voted to invite to the office of associate Rev. Henry Irving Cushman at a salary of three thousand dollars. A correspondence followed between the Standing Committee and Mr. Cushman, in which frankness of statement, having occasion in the recent unhappy experience, and timely and courteous exchange of sentiments are very noticeable. The invitation and the reply must be given in full. The following is the letter to Mr. Cushman:—

Rev. Henry I. Cushman:

DEAR SIR,— We have the pleasure to communicate to you the following vote, passed unanimously at a meeting of

the Second Society of Universalists in this city, held March 31:—

“Voted, That we invite the Rev. Henry I. Cushman to become associate-pastor of the society at an annual salary of three thousand dollars.”

In extending to you this unanimous invitation to become the associate of Rev. Dr. Miner, it is not improper that we should tell you frankly that we do it in the belief that you are a distinctive Universalist,—a denominational Universalist; and that, while you will devote all your energies to the spiritual good of your parishioners and the upbuilding of our parish, you will at the same time neglect nothing which will tend to the good of the whole denomination.

It is needless, perhaps, for us to say that we look upon our beloved pastor, Dr. Miner, with sentiments of love and respect which twenty years of devotion to his society and to the interests of our denomination, as well as to the highest good of humanity, could alone engender; and while we shall greet you warmly as his associate, we trust we shall long look up to him with grateful love as our senior pastor.

We may also frankly tell you that, believing fully in the independence of the pulpit, we still think it the duty of the pastor to consult at all times the true interests of the parish; to this end we recommend a frequent and candid communication between Pastor and the Standing Committee. By this means our sainted Father Ballou and our good Dr. Miner have always maintained the most amicable understanding with the Society.

We are aware that in inviting you into this portion of the Master's field we may be placing a heavy burden on your shoulders, for all the parochial duty of visiting, and most of the other parochial duties, will fall upon you; still, we have that confidence in your ability, your good judgment, and your Christian character, that, with the blessing of God, which we

fervently invoke, you will succeed in making yourself beloved of this people, and respected by all good men.

Finally, while we propose to you to assume these responsible duties, we hope not on our part to be wanting in our own share of them; we believe we can promise you all the co-operation and assistance it is in our power to give you, both as a society and individually.

Trusting that we may receive a favorable response to this invitation, we have the honor to be, on behalf of the Society,

Yours fraternally,

JAMES M. JACOBS,
THOMAS A. GODDARD,
WILLIAM ROBINSON,
STEPHEN STODDARD,
HENRY T. SPEAR,
DAVID CHAMBERLAIN,
JAMES D. PERKINS,

Standing Committee.

To this Mr. Cushman made the following reply:

DEAR BRETHREN, — Your communication announcing the vote passed at a meeting of your Society held in the vestry of School Street Church on the evening of March 31, 1868, inviting me to the position of associate-pastor, is received.

In reply I can but express, in the first place, my hearty appreciation of the high compliment which I feel such a vote conveys to me. It is not without a deep feeling of the great responsibility which the position involves, nor is it without much thought and prayer, that I accept your invitation upon the terms mentioned in the vote.

I read with much satisfaction your expression of love and respect for your tried and faithful pastor, Dr. Miner; and in all these expressions, be assured, I find but my own sentiments.

In your communication you say that you extend the invitation in the belief that I am a distinctive, a denominational, Universalist. If I understand your meaning, I have only to say, in reply to this, that I regard our beloved faith as the most complete expression of Christianity; and that I believe our people as a denomination of Christians have a mission in history. In this view I shall endeavor to do all in my power, with divine assistance, to advance the interests, not only of a particular parish, but of the denomination at large, believing that thus I should be best advancing the cause of Christ in the world.

I desire to thank you for your kind promise of co-operation in all matters pertaining to the parish, and I trust by faithfulness to merit such co-operation.

In conclusion, now, it is not improper for me to refer to one or two matters of detail, namely: I should be willing to leave the supply of the pulpit to be arranged between the pastors; I take the liberty to ask the month of August in each year for needed rest from labor. If, with these considerations, you shall desire to welcome me as the associate-pastor over your Society, I should prefer to enter into the relation the first of June of this year; and I should do so with full confidence in my senior associate and in the society. With a deep sense of my own responsibility, and with prayer that "grace, mercy, and peace from God the Father, and from our Lord Jesus Christ may be and abide with us forever,"

With much respect I am your brother in Christ,

HENRY IRVING CUSHMAN.

EAST CAMBRIDGE, MASS., April 6, 1868.

Almost contemporary with the foregoing the following correspondence took place between the committee and Dr. Miner:—

Rev. A. A. Miner, D. D.:

BELOVED PASTOR, — At a meeting of the members of the Second Society of Universalists held on the 31st ultimo, it was unanimously voted to invite Rev. Henry I. Cushman to become your associate in the pastorate of the School Street Church. At the same meeting (as you have already been verbally informed) a vote was passed, also unanimously, expressive of the desire of the society that your connection with it as senior pastor should be a permanent one. That vote is in these words:—

“*Voted*, That it is the earnest desire of this Society that the relation of Dr. Miner to it as senior pastor may prove a permanent one; and that the Standing Committee consult with him and report at the adjourned meeting the amount of salary to be paid him.”

As remarked above, these words express the desire of the society; but they fall far short of expressing the feeling of affection and esteem, as well as of high respect, towards you, which found utterance at that meeting, and which were but an echo of the general voice of your parishioners.

This Society has always been ready to do its share towards any object where the good of the Universalist denomination was concerned. In a great measure you have educated them up to this high standard; your words and your deeds have alike inspired them. Thus, when it became apparent that, all circumstances considered, it was best that you should take the presidency of Tufts College, much as they wanted you *all* the time at School Street, yet the general good of our cause was felt to be paramount to their own desires, and they assented to your becoming the head of the college.

Be assured, dear sir, that nothing would have prevailed upon them to consent to this but the belief that the general good of the Universalist cause demanded your services at the college. Be assured, also, that the respect, esteem, and

affection which they bear you now will continue to be uppermost in their hearts; and their hope is a sincere one that your connection with them as senior pastor may be long continued. They will hope to hear as often as possible your exhortations from the pulpit; and their earnest prayer will ascend to our Almighty Father that health and happiness may be the portion of yourself and of your estimable companion, with both of whom they have passed so many pleasant years in the past, and hope yet to pass many more in the future.

In behalf of the Standing Committee, I am, dear sir, affectionately yours,

JAMES M. JACOBS, *Chairman.*

DR. MINER'S REPLY.

APRIL 14, 1868.

To the Second Universalist Society, Boston:

DEAR BRETHREN,— Your communication of April 3, informing me of the election of Rev. H. I. Cushman as associate-pastor, and expressing the desire that my own relations to the parish as senior pastor may be permanent, has been received and duly considered.

It will give me great pleasure to welcome to the field of labor I have so long occupied, one whose character, education, and consecration through faith, as I believe, give so great promise of usefulness.

Reciprocating in the fullest measure the sentiments of kindness and confidence which your committee have expressed to me, I shall deem it a high satisfaction and honor to continue in the senior pastorate as long as the general interests of our Zion shall seem to require.

I am especially gratified, brethren, that in the communication referred to you do not forget the interests of our cause in the great field of the world. In tendering you my congratulations on your honorable record in endeavoring to

occupy this field in the past, I have the fullest confidence that you will continue to be a noble example of a truly Christian Church.

With sentiments of respect, I am yours in the faith of Christ,
A. A. MINER.¹

The service of installing the associate-pastor befell Wednesday evening, the 3d of June, Dr. Miner preaching the sermon, — of course, he was always “preaching the sermon,” — other parts by Rev. Messrs. B. K. Russ, John Boyden, A. St. John Chambré, O. F. Safford, L. L. Briggs, and C. H. Leonard. In reference to the settlement, Dr. Miner, as late as April, 1892, could say: “The confidence reposed in Mr. Cushman was in no degree misplaced. His high Christian character, his generous culture, his gentlemanly bearing and warmth of affection won to him at once the love and esteem of the entire parish. The relations also between the two pastors were of the most confidential and harmonious character.” Dr. Cushman’s feelings and estimate of his senior in the pastorate will have extended statement in another connection.

¹ The above correspondence is taken from the published account of the seventy-fifth anniversary, so often referred to in this chapter, pp. 38-43.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE MINISTRY IN BOSTON—RACIAL AND COMMERCIAL TRANSFORMATIONS.

ALL religious organizations are subject to conditions and exigencies which human sagacity can seldom foresee, and which no fidelity or ability of administration can resist. Political and industrial agencies often work a substitution, not simply as respects individuals, but even communities. To drive out the Saxon and introduce the Celt is to revolutionize creeds and ecclesiasticisms,—in some regards, civilization. It argues nothing that the Mohammedan is enthroned in the city where Jesus confounded the doctors; that an alien faith possesses the capital where the disciples were first called Christians; that the magnificent Church of St. Sophia, erected by Justinian, is now the shrine where worships the present Sultan; that a mosque now stands on Mount Moriah where Solomon placed the Hebrew temple. Whoever will compare a Boston directory of 1896 with one of 1850 will at once perceive that a race almost alien fifty years ago now has numerical ascendancy, at least supremacy, in the New England metropolis; and there is near approximation to literal fact in the suggestion that New England drop its name for New Ireland! Protestant Boston may still own the warehouses and

principal places of trade and pay the bulk of the taxes, but it no longer sleeps or votes in Boston, or to any great extent worships in the temples it built therein and consecrated. The residential Back Bay was literally a bay less than two generations ago. The Old North Church, sustained for very strong sentimental reasons; King's Chapel, also held to its site by a strong chain of historic incidents; the church in Bowdoin Street, the Park Street, and a few others, maintain services in the Old Boston; yet presumably, were there no Protestant houses of worship north of Dover Street, none would be erected save in the new section, which, though above the water, continues to be known as the Back Bay. The same changes are in progress in Charlestown, in South Boston, in the West End, and in the Island Ward. The churches on Hanover street, the church on Lynde street, the Old South, the Chauncey Street, the Hollis Street, the Federal Street, the Brattle Square, and others the names of which will readily occur to every one familiar with the city as it was in 1850 and earlier, all witness to a change of race, and of industrial and commercial centres. The Old Boston, once the headquarters of cultured Unitarianism, may be at this period, may have been a quarter of a century ago, a missionary field, the place of all others for missionary chapels and seamen's bethels; but it long ago proved itself wholly unable to give Protestant churches financial support. The character of the few exceptions confirms the rule.

Under the double ministry of Rev. Messrs. Miner and Cushman, there was a large measure of recovery from the disastrous episode which has been described. But

the racial fates and the commercial extension worked against it as it did against other churches which have been named.

There was another reason—an incident of the expansion of business activities—that, as a secondary influence, had rightfully great influence. The property on School Street had vastly increased in market value. To have retained the old edifice as the place of worship under the changed conditions would have been reprehensible extravagance or waste of means. Very soon after Mr. Cushman's entrance upon duty as junior or associate-pastor, agitations, a growing perception of the inevitable, culminated in definite action to this extent: the appointing of a committee—Messrs. H. T. Spear, Moses Fairbanks, T. A. Taylor, James M. Jacobs—to consider the question of a change of location. April 12, 1869, the committee reported in these terms: "It is apparent to your committee that, while not prepared to recommend a change in location at present, the great value of our property, together with our limited accommodations, particularly in the vestry, will render such a course advisable sooner or later, and in view of these facts we respectfully recommend that a lot of land suitable for our purposes be secured."

The report was accepted, and another committee was appointed to recommend a site. There was no immediate result. January 30, 1871, another committee—Newton Talbot, A. A. Miner, Moses Fairbanks, J. D. Perkins, T. A. Taylor, and J. M. Jacobs—was authorized, and within prescribed limitations instructed, to select and purchase a site for a new edifice. The Church on

Columbus Avenue, at the corner of Clarendon Street, costing near one hundred and fifty thousand dollars, was the outcome, the corner-stone being laid, — with introductory prayer by Rev. T. J. Sawyer, D. D., an address by Dr. Miner, concluding prayer by Rev. Mr. Cushman, Rev. L. L. Briggs having a part, — Sept. 13, 1871. The vestry, taking the name of lecture room, was ready for occupancy and was occupied for Sunday services, September 1, 1872, Dr. Miner preaching from Ezra vii. 20, — “And whatsoever more shall be needful for the house of thy God, which thou shalt have occasion to bestow, bestow it out of the king’s treasure house.” The church was not ready for occupancy till December.

There were five distinct parting services, — by the Sunday school; by the past and present teachers of the school; by the Society; by the Church; by the brethren and friends of the neighboring churches in the city and the vicinity. In reference to each and all, “sentiment,” as it is called, was of course the dominant feeling and motive. But as respects sentiment there must be discrimination. Let no one speak of it, in its higher meaning, in terms of disparagement, certainly not of contempt. It is sentiment that, at great financial sacrifices, retains intact the Old State House at the head of State Street. It was sentiment that prevented the demolition of the historic Old South Meeting House — that raised the means to wrest it from the hands of the spoiler. It is sentiment that remembers in patriotic wrath the complicity of a certain legislature in permitting the destruction of the Hancock mansion. It is sentiment that builds monuments in memory of the honored dead.

It is sentiment that gives a value beyond that of rubies to an intrinsically worthless relic of the dear departed. Sentiment is not necessarily a frivolous fancy; often it is the most solid, rational, sacred, powerful of realities. Sentiment was sorely tried, sorely pained, while it wisely bowed to the needful, the inevitable, when the last word of religious service was spoken on that beautiful day in May, in the temple where Hosea Ballou had maintained a despised truth with an argumentative power and an eloquence of utterance which few could resist,—where Alonzo Ames Miner, from matured youth to maturer manhood, had stood the champion of the truth, not much longer to be despised even if not accepted, and created forces that were to give new forms of endeavor, even equipped and endowed institutions, to the church and the denomination of his love. In this judicious movement all rejoiced, though in the sense of sacred sentiment, those early days in the spring of 1872, those days of parting services, were days of denominational bereavement.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE MINISTRY IN BOSTON — ADIEU TO SCHOOL STREET.

THE first parting service, in taking leave of the church, was held by the teachers and scholars of the Sunday school, Sunday evening, April 30. In addition to the large attendance of present teachers and scholars were many who had been connected with the school in former years. A report in a local daily, reprinted in "The Universalist," is somewhat condensed in the following statement:—

"Among earlier members were Messrs. H. B. Metcalf and John M. Lincoln, both of whom were present at the first session of the school thirty-seven years before. The services were opened with 'The Lord's Prayer,' repeated in unison by the school. The regular service was then read, after which a number of Sunday-school hymns were sung, under the leadership of Mr. S. B. Ball, who in former years had charge of the singing.

"The superintendent, Mr. J. D. Perkins, then introduced to the school as one of its original members, Mr. Henry B. Metcalf. Though he had ceased to be a member of the school many years since, by his removal from the city, Mr. Metcalf said that he was born into it, and should always claim a membership with it wherever he might be. He distinctly remembered the first session of the school, held in a little building in the rear of the present church, to which access

was only to be had from Harvard Place, or by an intricate passage entered upon from under the pulpit of the church above. A pleasant description of the school-room was given. The changes, first to Murray Hall, 'the attic' of the present edifice, and then to the present vestry, were mentioned, and the hope expressed that, although pride had somewhat influenced these changes, it was to be hoped that the same pride would lead to increased desire to progress in the Christian way.

"Mr. J. D. W. Joy, a former teacher in the school, spoke of the mingled feelings of joy and sorrow which the occasion caused him. In alluding to the benefits that his Sunday-school life had brought to him he could express his own ideas no better than by quoting the words of their former much-loved superintendent, Mr. Goddard, who used to say that, all other things being equal, the Sunday-school boy and the Church-going man would always lead the happiest life.

"Rev. Mr. Cushman, junior pastor, spoke of the pleasure it had given him to listen to the remarks made, and said that although his connection with the school had been of comparatively short duration, yet he could not but feel the departure from the pleasant associations of the old vestry. Although they were to leave the time-hallowed walls, the lessons that had been learned there should not be forgotten. The absence of the senior pastor, Dr. Miner, was mentioned, and the pleasing news stated that he was fast regaining his health by his sojourn in Florida. The exercises were closed by chanting the Lord's Prayer. The use of Wesleyan Hall had been secured for sessions of the school until the new vestry was ready for occupancy. And so ended forever the session of the Sunday school in the 'School Street church.'"

The teachers, past and present, held a reunion on the evening of Wednesday, May 1, — a reunion for a farewell. "The Universalist" of May 11, reported the

meeting to the extent of near two columns, which report, greatly condensed, contained these particulars:—

There was what in these days is called a reception in the auditorium, about two hundred and fifty ladies and gentlemen being present. There were music and an original hymn by Miss J. S. Cook. After a social hour the company adjourned to the vestry, where the tables, well filled with an excellent collation, extended throughout the large space, all the seats being filled. The walls were adorned with the names of the various pastors, superintendents, vice-superintendents, and librarians who had been connected with the school during the thirty-seven years of its organization. When all were seated, the junior pastor, Rev. H. I. Cushman, offered prayer. Mr. James D. Perkins, the superintendent, gave an address of welcome. Thirty-seven years of continuous labor had, he said, given the school a reputation almost exceptional. The officers and teachers of the present confess their obligations to their predecessors for the faithful manner in which they have performed their duties, giving to the school the high character which it had always enjoyed. It seemed fitting, therefore, that before the visible mementos of the old Sunday school home were destroyed, some public recognition of these obligations should be tendered to them. In inviting them to share in the congratulations of the hour, the superintendent extended to them a heartfelt, cordial Christian greeting. Mr. William E. Stowe, of Arlington, was introduced as the oldest surviving member of the company of teachers—oldest of the living officers. His address was full of reminiscences. He recalled the first officers: B. B. Mussey, superintendent; W. E. Stowe, vice-superintendent; I. Howland, secretary; Abel Tompkins, librarian. The first male teachers: J. D. Norton, J. D. Evans, Abel Tompkins, J. S. Tompkins, Jos. Lincoln, jr., Edward Pierce, M. M. Ballou, I. Howland, T. I. Secomb, B. B. Mussey, W. E. Stowe. The first female

teachers: Clementina and Fiducia Ballou, Caroline M. Wright, Elizabeth Kurtz, Mary A. Wright, Ann Barry, M. Hayden, Hannah Capen, R. Smith, Lucy A. Lincoln, — Kelly. It was a day of small things. Under wise management it had grown and taken a high position of usefulness.

Col. Isaac Hull Wright, son-in-law of Hosea Ballou, spoke feelingly of his acquaintance with B. B. Mussey, the first superintendent; Ichabod Howland, the first secretary; and particularly of Abel Tompkins, the first librarian, recalling the universal feeling of sunshine that always attended his presence on the various occasions of denominational interest. Hon. Richard Frothingham rose to the full height of earnest eloquence, as he spoke of his memories of Hosea Ballou and of the difficulty with which he was brought to believe in the usefulness of a Sunday school, and of his subsequent hearty co-operation when convinced of its necessity. An original poem, entitled "A May-day Wedding," written for the occasion, was read by the author, George M. Baker. Remarks were made by Henry B. Metcalf, in which he spoke of the late Thomas A. Goddard and Edwin Howland, and his long acquaintance with all the excellent qualities characteristic of these men. Mr. J. D. W. Joy spoke of all the past officers who have been for extended terms connected with the school. He alluded to the remote parts of the world which would send representatives of this school, should all its past members be assembled. The following have at various dates held the office of superintendent: Isaac H. Wright, elected superintendent, 1836; Edwin Howland, 1837; Thomas A. Goddard, 1837; A. L. Lincoln, 1854; Thomas A. Goddard, 1856; James D. Perkins, 1868. Mr. Goddard held the office up to the time of his death, serving the school for a period of over a quarter of a century.

The musical exercises were arranged by Mr. S. B. Ball, who held the position of choir leader for nearly twenty years. Charles Henderson presided at the piano, as he had done

upon all similar occasions for a very long period. The musical selections comprised glees, songs and duets. An original hymn, written by Dr. Miner, and forwarded by him from Florida, was his contribution to the evening's entertainment, and, sung by the company at the close of the evening, was the substitute for the author's presence — the compelled absence of whom, all felt as the one exception to the generally joyful occasion. Rev. Mr. Cushman closed the exercises with the benediction.

In the parting service, by the Society and congregation, which befell Sunday morning, May 7, the man of all others whose presence and participancy would have been naturally expected was there only in spirit. Overworked in nerve and muscle, physically exhausted to a point of danger, his people, ever mindful, even anxious in regard to him, had said to Dr. Miner — at the outset of the movement to erect a new house of worship — by vote at the annual meeting, March 18, 1872: "Go off, go away, get a good rest, and come back renewed in strength, and your salary will go on just the same." Such is the pith and marrow, though of course not the letter, of the vote. And he went.

The morning parting service was conducted exclusively by Rev. Mr. Cushman. First, there was an organ voluntary. The Lord's Prayer was chanted by the members of the Sunday school occupying the galleries, following the same by singing a hymn appropriate to the part next in order — prayer and the rite of baptism administered to thirteen children. The reading of special Scripture, the alternate reading by minister and people of the 84th Psalm, the singing of a hymn written for the occasion by

Mrs. H. A. Bingham, and prayer by the pastor, followed in order. A hymn, "Love changes not," written for the occasion by the junior pastor, was then sung, of which the three closing stanzas made direct allusion to the speciality of the hour:—

"O house of God, which long hast stood
A witness that our God is good,
Thou too must fall! Thy form no more
Shall greet our eyes, — Thy work is o'er.
Love changes not.

O sign of earth, of heavenly grace
For us and all the human race,
Thy walls decline! Farewell, farewell!
Our fathers' shrine and ours, farewell!
Love changes not.

Farewell to thee, thou ancient shrine!
Here once again our hearts incline
To catch thy voice, thy whispers low,
Oh speak! once more from thee we'd know
Love changes not!"

Mr. Cushman gave the proof that the senior pastor, though absent in body, was present in spirit, by reading the following letter, addressed to the people in the technical title, historically out of date, of the parish:—

JACKSONVILLE, FLORIDA, April 27, 1872.

To the "Second Society of Universalists in the Town of Boston":

DEAR BRETHREN AND SISTERS, — By a notice in the "Universalist" of April 28th, I learn that you will be assembled in our dear old church, for the last time, on the first Sunday in May. In accordance with a suggestion of your wishes before I left home, I cannot but send you my greetings and Christian salutations for the occasion — an occasion both joyous and sad.

First of all, I desire to express to you my sincere and hearty

thanks for the kind indulgence through which, as I trust, I am laying in new stores of health and strength for future years of service. I assure you I know no higher satisfactions than those which spring from the hope of having contributed to the advancement of the truth in the past, and of being able to contribute still further thereto in the future.

I am scarcely able to comprehend that twenty-four years of pastoral service in your midst have already transpired, all of which years have been pregnant with testimonials of your kindness and Christian consideration on my behalf. Twenty-four is no inconsiderable fraction of the fifty-five years of your experience and history. For thirty-five of those years, you enjoyed the heroic labors of the Rev. Hosea Ballou, whose renown will continue as long as acuteness of reasoning, originality of thought, vigor of statement, amplitude of illustration, and wealth of Christian graces and purpose shall be honored among men.

In the twenty-four years of my connection with you, I have been profoundly impressed by a sense of the high Christian character of the great body of the men and women composing the parish. Though many of the founders of, and original toilers in, this Christian enterprise were never personally known to me, yet so manifest were the quality of their purpose and the drift of their labors, and so abundant the Christian treasures which have been garnered therefrom, that they are not strangers to any of us.

Somewhat better known to us, however, are those fathers who twenty-four years ago were ready to lay off their mantles; and that other host of worthies, since called from earth to heaven, in early or in middle life, the mere mention of whose names would fill pages. Are they not all with you to-night? Share they not all both your joys and your sorrows — your joys that this dear old temple has been a home of spiritual gladness to so many souls, some of whom may be met with in every section of our country — your sorrows that in the revo-

lutions of time it has come to pass that this same temple must give place, that the home of our childhood, as it were, must be swept away, and that many true friends of the church must be gravely discommoded? But let us not doubt that we shall be lifted above all these inconveniences and sorrows, by that readiness for sacrifice and that consecration to the good of the church, without which all our religion is vain.

We must not fail, dear friends, to enter into the doors of opportunity everywhere opening before us. Gladly do we recognize the fact that the Church universal more or less feels the power of truth. Every year God is recognized more and more a Father. Every year is his love felt to be more and more real. At every turn in the kaleidoscope of Christian thought, do the barbarities of the more prevalent creeds take on new aspects of depravity, and challenge anew the abhorrence of every Christian heart.

To complete the work so well advanced, and even to prevent retrograding into the former darkness, it is necessary that the banners of the cross should be borne aloft with a steady hand. The gospel trumpet must utter no uncertain sound. The watchman on the walls of Zion must maintain eternal vigilance; and the embattled hosts in the armies of the cross must bear down bravely and steadily upon the ranks of those warring in the cause of sin and error.

The observations I have made since I left you show especial need of the doctrine of the fulness of gospel grace to the highest Christian work. The antagonisms of caste and class, of party and race, of opinion and interest, demand the fullest recognition of the unity of the race, in origin, interest and destiny, as a means of their removal. A religion born of hate can never eradicate hate; since hate retains its own power and animus, under whatever name it is baptized. Broader views of the divine purpose, richer possibilities through divine grace, and profounder beatitudes as the fruitage of divine power, must be everywhere accepted and enjoyed.

A church thus level to its prerogatives and opportunities will move forward with irresistible might. I cannot doubt that you will continue to be in a large measure such a church; that you will wisely strengthen your citadel, and look with a broad Christian beneficence upon the whole field of Christian labor. Your helpfulness in the past has been honorable; I do not doubt you will enhance that honor in the future. With united purpose, such must surely be the result of your labors.

When, therefore, to-night you retire from this your half-century camping ground, you go not forth as a routed army driven by the foe, but as a victorious host moving to a new and stronger position. With faithful leaders and helpers in the parish, in the Sunday school, in the church, you are, under God, prepared for the most satisfactory success.

Accept, dear friends, these few words from one who gladly shares with you whatever of tender recollections, of grateful memories, and of swelling hopes, this occasion is fitted to awaken. And let the utterance of our limited farewells to this dear old home be in the accents of unbroken love.

Yours most truly,

A. A. MINER, *Senior Pastor.*

The sermon by the junior pastor, next in the order, from the familiar text, the basal text of the Universalist movement and church, "God is love," was in the opening words, and at fit places in the full body of discourse, wisely and tenderly mindful of what has been described as "sacred sentiment"—the affections of a people inwrought with every brick and timber and furnishing of the historic temple. "I need not say, my Christian friends,"—so the preacher began,— "that we have come into this place to-day with unaccustomed feelings. The most recent worshipper at this altar, as he enters now these courts, feels that he is the inheritor

of a noble past, whose strange power presses closer than ever upon his heart. While to you who for years have trod these aisles, and, o'erwearied with the burden of life, have sought here the repose of worship, every object speaks a marvellous power, and bids hosts of precious memories revive, until you seem to stand in the presence of that great cloud of sainted witnesses, to whom this was indeed 'the house of God and the very gate of Heaven.' " For himself, though he had learned to love the ancient temple, and because he had learned to love it, the preacher would have preferred to listen to one who had shared these associations for a quarter of a century, and who had contributed so much to make them dear to all. But since this could not be, he trusted that his written expressions and the familiar objects, the altar and the walls and the ceiling, would speak the word which he might leave unsaid. "For us, members of this parish, this," the preacher adds, "is really the last service in the old church. The service to be held this evening is not specially ours. Before this altar, when this day is gone, we shall gather for worship no more. The time has come when we must take up 'the ark of God' and bear it to another place. In view of these things, the most reverent thought suggests how much this spot has been to us,—how much to the thousands who in bygone years have worshipped here,—how much to the other thousands, who, having never looked upon these objects, have associated the name of 'School Street' with all that is dearest in their Christian faith."

The sermon proceeds in the historical vein, describing in briefest terms the beginnings of Universalism, under

Rev. John Murray, in Boston, in 1773; the successful attempt to establish a congregation on Hanover Street; the incorporation of "The Second Society of Universalists in the Town of Boston;" the erecting and the dedicating, October 16, 1819, of the Church on School Street, within which the parting services of the hour were being held; the settlement of Rev. Hosea Ballou; the subsequent improvements of the building and the later partial reconstruction; the attempts to procure for Mr. Ballou an Associate, at last successful, in the settlement of Rev. A. A. Miner. The sermon then pays a tribute which must be given in the exact words of the preacher: —

"Mr. Miner held the position of junior pastor for four years, until the death of Father Ballou. During that time the relation which existed between the senior and junior pastors was such as we should have expected when two such noble spirits joined hands for Christian work in the same field. It was full of mutual confidence, respect and affection. After the death of Father Ballou, Dr. Miner held the position of sole pastor for fifteen years, and has been senior pastor for five years. It is twenty-four years in all, this very month, since he came to your midst, where he still remains higher than ever in the affection and esteem of his people. How he would speak to us to-day out of this long and rich experience, were he present! In what words of wisdom and tenderness would he speak the worth of the departed!

"The first time that I ever saw Dr. Miner, was in the spring of 1861, — eleven years ago this spring. I was then a member of the Chelsea High School. When I first saw him he stood in his pulpit. I sat with my father near the door in the east gallery. It was on the Sunday following that memorable 17th of April on which the 6th Massachusetts Regi-

ment started from this city for the South, some of whom a day or two thereafter fell in the streets of Baltimore. Those were dark days. But they would have been darker still but for such men as your Senior Pastor. I do not recall the words which he spoke on that day, but the impression which I then received of the grandeur of the man has never passed away. And you will permit me here to say, that upon a nearer view, as I am privileged to stand in a more intimate relation to him, my respect for him has only grown greater, while a deep love for him has sprung up in my heart. But why need I speak of him whose life for so many years has been interwoven with yours, and whom we, each of us, can regard as a personal friend? You will all bear me witness that his equals are very few among men. His is one of those majestic characters which are towers of strength. With grand intellect, remarkable insight, large heart, firm Christian faith and tender sympathies, he has long stood as a tower of strength in this community. With his varied talents, he has not been able to confine his sphere of labor to any one department. The cause of liberty, the cause of general education, the cause of justice and temperance and reform, have all found in him a strong advocate and a consistent friend. The city and the State, ay, and the whole nation, owe him a debt of gratitude for his constant fidelity to the common good. But above all is he devoted to the cause of 'our holy religion,' here and throughout the land. He stands, by common consent, as the leader of our denomination. His interest in education, his firm faith in the Divine Revelation, and his energy of purpose, sometimes too great for his strength of body, have all combined to make him a great power in leading on our people to that high vantage-ground which to-day they occupy among the religious organizations of America. Devoted as pastor, as President of our noble College, and as worker in manifold fields of usefulness, may God spare him to us and to our whole Church for many years to come."

The preacher notes the "much trembling" with which he accepted the invitation which was extended him March 31, 1868, to accept the responsibility and labors of colleague with Dr. Miner, and he gratefully adds:—

"I am glad of this opportunity to-day, before leaving the old church, to testify to the uniform kindness which I have experienced at your hands, and at the hands of your senior pastor. I need hardly say that the position has involved very great anxiety on my part, pressed down by which, I have many times been driven almost to withdraw from it. But some timely word or act on your part has given me new courage and hope. My youth and inexperience have found more than a counterpart in your forbearance and encouragement. Grateful to God for the blessings which have attended me and mine in this relation, my prayer is, that His favor may still abide with us."

The sermon proceeds to note particulars, for which there will be appropriate place in another connection, of the auxiliaries of the church, in its various minor and incidental organizations, and also the great changes in the direction of the Universalist faith, adding:—

"Moreover 'School Street' has borne a noble part in the promulgation of those views of life which have found their fruitage in the emancipation of the slave, in the development of a better public opinion concerning the use and sale of intoxicating beverages, in the creation of better habits and better laws, and in the advance of peace among the nations."

Much has just been said — it is hoped not too much — of the "sentiment," which naturally tempered and made both joyful and sad the parting service — the associa-

tion that gave something of personality to the different parts of the material structure. The sermon in its conclusion is eloquently radiant of what the "walls" contained, of the memories which the present revives, of the "ideas" there physically embraced. It was said that "*a wonderful charm lingers in these very walls,*" that the external objects had come to be dear as the features of an old friend, that the people habitually worshipping in the place had "learned to love that entrance, these seats, this pulpit, these walls and this ceiling;" that the place was dear on account of *its memories connected with the great and good*; that here had worshipped many noble men and women of the faith who honored their profession and their God in their words and in their works; and that the place was hallowed because of the ideas it *embodied concerning God and man and destiny*, it being but the meed of well-merited praise to say that no congregation was ever better instructed than the one that year by year had worshipped in this church. The peroration must not be omitted: —

"So these associations are dear. We would linger with them in our thought. We would welcome all their meaning to the inner sanctuary of our souls. Welcome, precious memories that cluster about this spot! Thrice, welcome! Rich legacy, we will hoard thee in our hearts that we may transmit thee to the generations yet unborn! And now, Ancient Temple, with all our hearts we salute thee, while we pronounce the hardest word of all, FAREWELL! Temple which our fathers reared! — in behalf of ourselves, — in behalf of our absent pastor, — in behalf of the multitudes scattered abroad who have worshipped at thine altar, — in behalf of the members of our Zion everywhere, to whom thy name is a house-

hold word, — and in behalf of the sainted ones who loved thy gates while they walked the earth, — we salute thee! And for all these we say to thee, sacred pile, farewell, *farewell!* Members of the School Street parish! we yield to law! we yield to the behests of Progress. The growth of our beloved Boston bids us ‘go hence.’ Confidently we put our hand in the new guide of this city life, that leads us to a new spot and a new future. It can but be that hearts are pained at the thought of removal. It is not easy to part these ties! To some souls here they may seem widely broken. But we feel that what we hold most dear is to spring up out of new ground and to be invested in a new way! I can weep to-day with those of you who are saddest. I can rejoice with you all as our faces are set towards our new home. Thank God, we have such a past! Upon it may we rise to a still more glorious future! Held together by the force of those affections nourished here, by the love which we have for our holy faith, and by the assurances of the everlasting Gospel, may we go forth from this ancient house of God! And while we turn to drop a tear as its familiar form recedes from our view, may we lift our still moistened eyes to the south, and wave a loving salutation to the new home which is now rising in surpassing beauty, soon to bid us all welcome to its shelter. Now unto the King Eternal, immortal, invisible, the only wise God, be honor and glory, through Jesus Christ, forever and ever. — Amen!”

An anthem followed, and the benediction closed the last morning religious service held by the “Second Society of Universalists of the Town of Boston,” in the “School Street Church.”

The church held its parting service in the afternoon, the Holy Communion being observed. Not only resident members but many living at a distance, some an

extreme distance, had felt impelled to come and participate in the solemn ceremonial. Rev. Mr. Cushman read appropriate Scripture. Rev. Benjamin Whittemore, D.D., led in prayer. Rev. Thomas J. Greenwood gave an appropriate address, calling up the names of Barry, Brazier, Faxon, Lincoln, Packard, Goddard, which names he said must be in the thoughts of those present; then breaking the bread invoked a blessing thereupon. The emblem of the body of Christ was distributed by Senior Deacons Moses Mellen and Joseph Wing.

Rev. Lucius B. Paige, D.D., the commentator of the New Testament — as these lines are being written, upon what he deems and others deem his bed of death, at the great age of 94, patiently waiting the event which to him does not mean death but on the contrary, life and immortality¹ — took the cup, gave thanks, and the emblem of the blood shed for the remission of sins was presented to the congregation. A hymn followed, and Dr. Whittemore, pronouncing the benediction, brought to a close the last communion service to be held in the Church on School Street.

The Final Service — the Farewell by friends of other churches, as well as by those of the parish, befell Sunday evening. By the hour of seven, as the "Universalist" notes, the house was full. Settees were put into the aisles and at once occupied. In every part the house was crowded as the organ sent forth its tender notes. Did the heart of that skilful performer who for a quarter of

¹ The above reference to Dr. Paige, purposely left as written, was penned on the evening of Thursday, September 3, 1896. The dailies of the morning succeeding noted his decease on the afternoon of that Thursday, Sept. 3.

a century had touched the keys, feel the commingling sorrow and joy of the occasion, and did the emotion proceed to the fingers, thence to the finger-boards, and thence to the mellowed pipes ? But the scene : Flowers upon the altar, flowers upon the Communion Table, flowers in profusion along the sides of the galleries, flowers wrought in every device of beauty, filled the air with sweet perfume. Particularly appropriate was the white cross, wrought in flowers, pendent on the wall in the rear of the pulpit. High up on the rear wall were appropriate inscriptions. On the left looking towards the pulpit, were the words : —

“HOSEA BALLOU INSTALLED DEC. 25, 1817.”

Opposite this on the right was the following : —

“A. A. MINER INSTALLED MAY 31, 1848.”

Between these in circular form was the following : —

“1817 — GOD IS LOVE — 1872.”

The following was the order : Organ voluntary ; Anthem ; Scripture reading, Rev. J. V. Wilson ; Prayer, Rev. Benton Smith ; Hymn (original), Rev. J. G. Adams :

Great God of our salvation,
With one accord we come
In grateful adoration,
To this loved temple-home,
Once more in joy to render
Our praises to thy name,
Our Father and Defender,
Through ages still the same.

Thanks, that thy truth here spoken
Long since so loyally,
Through error's night hath broken,
And spreading far and free,

Hath wakened contemplations
 Such as in this glad hour,
 Foretell for all the nations
 Thy Son's enlightening power.

Thanks, too, that we are sharers
 In thy truth's service, Lord ;
 O make us faithful bearers
 Of this great life abroad,
 With all the churches praying,
 " Thy heavenly kingdom come !"
 And with them all essaying
 To bring thy lost ones home.

Accept our service, Father,
 Grant us new strength in Thee ;
 Though here no more we gather
 Thy gracious face to see,
 Be our heart-praise unceasing,
 While on the earth we stay,
 Our life of faith increasing
 Unto the perfect day.

Reading of letters ; Addresses ; Hymn, " Farewell to
 the Old Church " (original), by Mrs. C. M. Sawyer :

Many a year has rolled away
 Since this Fane, now old and grey,
 First above the peopled town,
 Like a risen star, looked down.
 Men devoted, strong and true,
 Reared the wall, and shaped the pew ;
 Entering in, when all was done, —
 Happiest Hearts beneath the sun.

Where now *are* They ? — While we say,
 " Dead, and gone, and passed away ! "
 Lo ! we feel, with sudden thrill,
 That to-night they're with us still !
 Gliding in, with silent feet,
 Each one takes his ancient seat,
 All unseen of mortal eye ; —
 Happiest Souls that wing the sky !

Well they know the torch, that they
 Kindled in that early day,
 Now, — a broad, full Beacon-blaze, —
 Lights up all our later days.
 That there's not a creed so dark
 But has caught some living spark
 That, ere long, will burn and shine, —
 Altar-fire of Love Divine !

Sires immortal ! — Let each heart
 Pay them tribute ere we part,
 And, beyond the Old Church door,
 Pass to tread these aisles no more !
 Grand their work, and nobly done ;
 E'en though, when but scarce begun,
 By their graves it dropt : — that we
 Its Inheritors might be !

In their foot-steps let us tread
 Bravely, as they bravely led ;
 Bearing high their Banner now
 Dust is on their mortal brow !
 Pure as theirs be all our aims, —
 Aye ! — be HOLY as the Names
 On our Altars, — Names, adored,
 Of our Father, — Saviour, — Lord !

Addresses ; Hymn, Dismission, by Rev. Hosea
 Ballou :

From worship now thy church dismiss —
 But not without thy blessing, Lord ;
 O grant a taste of heavenly bliss,
 And seal instruction from thy word.

Oft may these pleasant scenes return
 When we shall meet to worship thee ;
 Oft may our hearts within us burn
 To hear thy word, thy goodness see.

And when these pleasant scenes are past,
 To thee, our God, O may we come,
 And meet th' assembled world at last,
 In Zion, our eternal home.

Benediction.

Rev. Mr. Cushman read letters special for the occasion from the two clerical sons of Father Ballou — Hosea Faxon and Massena B. Ballou, expressing regret at their inability to be present, reciting interesting reminiscences of their connection with the parish, and more particularly with the early ministry of their venerated parent; one from Rev. Dr. Ryder of Chicago, and one from Rev. Dr. Chapin of New York — both containing Christian greetings to the “Old School Street Parish.”

Rev. B. Whittemore, D.D., was the first speaker. Under the circumstances his appearance was the characteristic event of the occasion. His apostolic mien; his venerable years; his early connection with Father Ballou, whose daughter became his wife half a century ago; his blindness, and his touching allusion to his misfortune; his pathetic recital of the early history of the parish, — all the particulars considered, his presence made an impression which will never be forgotten by those who were present. A member of Mr. Ballou's congregation more than fifty years earlier, his address was reminiscent and also descriptive of the theological changes that had been wrought in the half century. Rev. L. L. Briggs, the pastor of Shawmut Church (formerly the Warren Street), paid a tribute to the great fidelity of the parish. It had never struck its flag. It had ever kept the faith. It never compromised with false liberality. It never halted between two opinions. It lives in history; in our denominational schools; in Dean Academy and in Tufts College; in scores of our best parishes.

Rev. Dr. T. J. Sawyer alluded to the difficulties attending the labor for Universalism in the earlier time. Universalism was very unpopular fifty-five years before. Then the doctrine had made but little progress. The doctrine was a novelty. Hence the crowds that flocked to hear Mr. Ballou. The long pastorate of Mr. Ballou and of his successor, Dr. Miner, was a reason of the success of the parish. Instability is the rock of stumbling. The speaker continued in a hopeful strain, urging all to remember the "better beyond" as the ground of hope. Rev. John G. Adams spoke of his early interest in the School Street church long before he had ever beheld or entered it. The work of its ministry had reached and blessed him. Father Ballou's "Lecture Sermons" served to open his eyes to the claims of the old Abrahamic Gospel. He paid a tribute to Father Ballou and Dr. Miner, and other faithful workers in the past and present. "Honor," said he, "to this old sanctuary, for what in the providence of God it has been in the past; a watch-tower, upon which faithful sentinels have stood, firm to duty, giving the true pass-word and countersign of the gospel amid the counterfeits used by scepticism in its modern guises and impudent pretensions; a bulwark of strength against which the assailing forces of error and detraction have been spent in vain; our denominational Pharos, sending forth to waiting eyes its cheering and hopeful light far over the land and sea." His prayer was that there might be a great increase of the same light in the new temple.

Rev. E. C. Bolles was the last speaker. He spoke of the hospitality of the parish; its generosity; its sym-

pathy felt everywhere as a power ; its enterprise. He spoke particularly of Thomas A. Goddard, the representative layman of the church, whose sympathy the speaker had felt as strength and encouragement.

The hour of ten had come. One of Father Ballou's hymns was sung. The benediction was pronounced. The people left ; and " School Street Church," the first temple of worship of the " Second Society of Universalists in the Town of Boston," was no more, — it had passed into history.

CHAPTER XX.

THE BOSTON MINISTRY—COLUMBUS AVENUE.

THE church on Columbus Avenue was dedicated December 5, 1872, Rev. Messrs. Miner, Cushman, Sawyer, Francis and Vibbert participating. The new edifice, within and without, is capacious and beautiful,—as, at its cost of one hundred and fifty thousand dollars, it should be. It has every attraction of convenience and accommodation, and all the furnishings, including a majestic organ, are faultless. The costly decorations fit the architectural beauty of the interior. To the eye it seems to lack nothing. Unfortunately, the painful suspense which every congregation suffers in regard to a new place of worship—hinging upon a contingency which to architectural wisdom is so much of a mystery that the outcome is often set down to “luck,” good or ill—was not destined to give way to joyful surprise or hope in practice. The acoustic quality was not satisfactory, though subsequent alterations, at a cost of near fourteen thousand dollars, remedied the defect in part. Nor is this all, or the worst—for two changes, one gradual in its progress, the other the work of a day, proved calamitous. The change was made from School Street to the noble and wide boulevard, Columbus Avenue,



COLUMBUS AVENUE CHURCH.

which in the excellence and beauty of its dwellings gave promise of being the most attractive residential part of the city, with the exception of the extension of Beacon Street, and the new residential quarter known as the Back Bay. It was not, it could not be, foreseen that the influences that had drawn the bulk of Protestantism out of the North and West Ends, that a little later were to convert the beautiful houses on Summer Street and other residences further south into sites for warehouses and marts of trade, would even more quickly work a revolution in the South End, not only up to but far beyond the Roxbury line. Except on the Back Bay, where costly houses of worship seemed to have crowded as if escaping from some besom of destruction, it is safe to predict that no more new Protestant churches, except mission chapels, will, under existing conditions, be built near either side of the line that separates Dorchester and Roxbury from the Boston of history. The facility and cheapness of transportation to the suburbs by steam and by electricity have, in the last ten years, to go back no further, falsified all predictions as to the South End—considered as an abode where residents will own their dwellings—made by the most practical and sagacious; what will be the further effect, when the “Subway” and other contemplated facilities of entrance and exit are perfected, it would be rashness to predict. Not, therefore, because of any misjudgment, the expectations in regard to the new site and beautiful edifice could not be met. People who live in boarding houses and in “flats,” whatever their excellence of character and motive, and whatever their

spiritual needs, cannot be expected to give great financial support to places of worship, from the neighborhood of which they may be compelled to move on "notice." That beautiful sentiment, love for and devotion to the accustomed "religious home," bringing families and individuals from great distances to the place of worship at the customary hour, is the strong cord which at this date holds intact every Protestant congregation in the Old Boston. How will it be when the relentless messenger calls them home?

But there was another misfortune, that did not come as a thief in the night, but as a destroyer wasting at noonday; and in the general financial disaster that naturally followed, few churches suffered more than, few so much as, the Second Universalist Society. The site on School Street was retained, and a business block was erected thereupon. As financial anchorage, no investment could have been deemed wiser or more reliable. It not only solved the problem of meeting the cost of the new church, but largely that of the current expenses incident to its support. So far as "ready means" may go, the Second Society seemed held to its new moorings by a bower-anchor that could not part. But a danger was near and a crash was coming the like of which the city never knew before, and it is to be hoped, in view of new methods of prevention, may never know again. Well does the writer remember that Saturday, the 10th of November, 1872. Duty calling him to the city of Lawrence, where he was to remain till the Monday succeeding, he had occasion to pass through a part of Washington Street from Essex Street to the station

near Haymarket. Little did he think that he was taking a last look on so much of the eastern side of the historic avenue. As the train was crossing the bridge that spans the Charles River, passengers noticed a cloud of smoke rising above the city, and the remark, "There must be a fire" was made and reiterated. But fires are common events, and no one had serious apprehensions. Sunday morning brought to Lawrence, by what conveyance did not appear—it was before the epoch of Sunday trains—the tidings, "Boston is in ashes!" It is needless here to give particulars well known to all people. In the ruin of many fortunes, in the paralysis of business, in the dread uncertainty as to the future, the confident and reasonable expectations of the Second Society of Universalists, based upon a valuable and presumably lucrative income from its School Street property, were doomed to serious disappointment. For the hour—for how many hours, months, years possibly—a rich parish found itself poor in all save faith and courage! In the course of a few years, indeed, the former financial estate was substantially recovered, and the stream of needed revenue grew in volume. But the almost unparalleled conflagration, in what it immediately did and in what grew out of it, was a serious calamity.

The history of Dr. Miner's work in developing the educational institutions of his denomination, and particularly his Titanic achievement as respects Tufts College, should have somewhat copious statement in another chapter. For this connection it will be sufficient to repeat that it became expedient, in fact impera-

tive, that he take the presidency of Tufts College, and that his people, generously yielding to the necessity, still refused to part with their beloved pastor. It was to relieve him of burdens too heavy to be borne that an attempt was made to furnish him an associate in 1867,—a second and successful attempt being made the year succeeding, Rev. H. I. Cushman, as already noted, being installed the 3d of June in 1868. It soon appeared, however, that duty to himself, his family, his church, and the College, made it not simply imperative, but a necessity, that he be relieved either of the duties of the College president or else of the Boston pastorate. It was clear enough that he could take his choice, but it was a physical impossibility that he should retain both. Meantime, the affairs of the College had greatly improved; he could retire from its control and not leave it in serious danger. These pages have frequently commented on Dr. Miner's habit of careful "deliberation." In this instance he shall describe it himself:—

"There had been numerous appeals to the president of the College to cut loose from the parish and remove to the College. Notwithstanding the valuable aid of a colleague, the double relation was still onerous. The president was at the College four and sometimes five days in the week, making his visits sometimes on horseback, sometimes by carriage, and sometimes by rail. Both situations were desirable; both offered large inducements; both commanded my full sympathies. The trustees of the College offered to erect for me a satisfactory residence. But I had a home in Boston; I had grown into Boston surroundings; my wife preferred to spend the remainder of her days among long-

tried friends; I felt that her preferences were as sacred as my own; hence, after twelve and a half years of service, I resigned my connection with the College, and took up again full parish work. Meantime, the junior pastor, Rev. Dr. H. I. Cushman, accepted a call to Providence, where he has won for himself general respect throughout that city.”¹

Resuming the office of sole pastor in 1875, he began what may be called a new pastoral epoch destined to continue sixteen years. Again it must be noted that the events of a Christian pastorate cannot, with quite occasional exceptions, be matter of record; that the highest quality of such service refuses the technicalities and consecutiveness of tabulation. The value of a chapter, even of a book, may be in the noting of the one kindly word that saves a soul from destruction, the one utterance of sympathy that makes the weak strong, the one accent of encouragement that makes the timid brave, the mere look that brings consolation to the bereaved. The preacher may articulate a great sermon, yet a far greater one radiates from his countenance. It takes but a line to record that touch of the garment that could make a shattered spirit whole; but for eighteen centuries what redeeming work has come out of that simple act of faith! True manhood is infinitely more than deeds, as deeds are infinitely more than words. For sixteen years, commanding character in the person of Alonzo Ames Miner stood, at the stated times, in the pulpit of Columbus Avenue Church — a presence in which half-hearted courage, paltering with conviction, evasion of

¹ Dr. Cushman's pastorate began June 1, 1868, and ended January 1, 1875.

solemn responsibility, compromising with the sins that canker the soul, all stood — or slunk away — rebuked. Pewholders, parishioners, visitors, might at times refuse assent to certain things that came from the heroic lips of the preacher ; at times they might cringe under what seemed harsh arraignments of things thought to be evil, of persons thought to be culpable, but it was morally impossible that they should not believe in the man, and if at times there was something of irritation in the pews, there was reverence for the audacious honesty of the preacher, whose words caused a shiver of dissent. Certain representatives of a venal press, unable to see moral worth unless it was expressing their own notions and views of the expedient, might sling their arrows at the man who never knew how to trifle with his conscience, and the arrows might often pierce to the quick causing intense pain ; but the target-hero lives in memory to be loved and eulogized. Who sprang the bow ? Echo answers, " Who ? " What Dr. Miner thought and what he did as respects the liquor traffic, papal politics, and other manifestations of what he believed a menace to the individual and the community, will have statement in other connections. It is enough to say here that A. A. Miner was the same man in the pulpit that he was before legislative committees, reform assemblies, and at the polls. If in these regards he was at fault, out of his sphere, inconsiderate of honest prejudices, even honest convictions, it was in every case simply integrity and philanthropic purpose in excess. He never had a place in his heart for personal malice.

As in Methuen, as in Lowell, as in " School Street,"

so now in Columbus Avenue, the preacher was supplemented by the pastor. In the pulpit the preacher, in accordance with a proclivity which may give occasion for a paragraph or more in another chapter, said the things that, for the hour, were in his mind, without much regard to the canons of pulpit propriety, and all manner of current themes found in him a spokesman, — a corrupt municipality, a papal invasion, a bad plank in a political platform, the dubious or wily course of a prelate, the giving of legal license to that which the moral law never looks upon except with stern disapprobation, or whatever other form of major or minor evil the agitation of the time had pushed into prominence, — each and all had its meat, in copious supply, in due season, possibly out of season. But metes and bounds cannot be prescribed for the prophets of God. They literally speak, not as the programme but as the spirit moves them. Great as the preacher unmistakably was, the theme that came to him was greater than he; and it, rather than he, was master of the situation. In the parish, in the neighborhood, the pastor, as on School Street, in Lowell, in Methuen, was going about doing good. Relentless as the assailant of sin, to the individual sinner he was often an angel of charity not less than of mercy. And he was literally everybody's friend, every needy and suffering person's servant. If ever, since the chiefest of examples in Palestine, a man lived to minister rather than to be ministered unto, Alonzo Ames Miner was that man. To his clerical brethren, less fortunate, less successful than himself, particularly if specially unfortunate, he was a father, a

brother, a counsellor, a helper. The heart swells, the eye moistens, the trembling pen with difficulty moves, as memories of this great and good man's unostentatious deeds are recalled. A monument will mark his resting-place, but his noblest monument is the tears of those in need, in sorrow, in pain, as they recall the times when to them he was the friend in need. Such, in briefest terms, was the pastor supplementing the preacher for sixteen years in Columbus Avenue, simply continuing what he had been on School Street, in Lowell, in the beautiful village where he took his first installation vows. Two brief paragraphs are here given; if they in any just measure convey their intent and substance, they "cover" the better part of a professional life of more than half a century.

Connected with the Second Society, or constituents of it, were departments, branches, auxiliaries—the Sunday-school, the church, the Miner Charitable Society, clubs, socials—in regard to all of which, the pastor, who had time for all else, had time for the duties and the activities they invited. Of course there were for these the annual gatherings, the banquets, the "after-dinner" speeches, the music, the "reception."

The Sunday-school has had mention. Of the church, with the sacraments, it can only be said that it was impossible for such a pastor to give it a minor place in his sympathies and endeavors. In the seventy-fifth anniversary discourse he could say this: "The Church organization, which adopted its covenant on the third Sunday in September, 1817, and whose seventy-fifth anniversary, therefore, we are more exactly celebrating,

has had a most honorable history, and infused a quickening influence into all the movements of the parish. It has received to its membership more than a thousand persons, very few of whom have ever dishonored their profession."

The very appropriate custom of anniversary commemorations of a pastorate, of course, increases in interest as the years come and go. In the later period of Dr. Miner's ministry the anniversary became a notable event, and the special service was often pathetic, as it gave occasion to describe the changes which time had wrought,—changes brought by new interests, and particularly by death. For particular reasons the fortieth anniversary—that of May 3, 1888—had unusual significance, in that it was made an opportunity for a reception to Dr. and Mrs. Miner, the matter being in charge of a committee—Mrs. D. W. Spooner at its head. Hon. Newton Talbot, master of ceremonies, gave a word of greeting, to which Dr. Miner responded. Letters were received from several clergymen—Drs. L. R. Paige and C. A. Bartol of the number. There was a presentation of a Bida Bible through Rev. J. J. Lewis, of the South Boston parish, and an address by Rev. Dr. T. J. Sawyer. And there was a "banquet." The report of this anniversary, as in some respects the sample of what took place every May in the later years, may, in another connection, be given in full. On the Sunday succeeding, May 6, the pastor made the event the occasion of discourse weirdly interesting in certain of its details. The "Boston Post's" report was, with slight modifications, as follows:—

“After the interesting greetings and testimonials by his parishioners and the laboring members of his church, given to Dr. Miner on Thursday evening last, it being the completion of his forty years of pastoral association with the Columbus Avenue Universalist Church, he very appropriately made occasional reference to the event in his discourse yesterday morning. The text selected by Dr. Miner was from 1 Peter iv. 10: ‘As every man hath received the gift, even so minister the same one to another, as good stewards of the manifold grace of God.’ Dr. Miner spoke of the enhanced dignity which human life would share under the quick sense of every man being a steward of God, and as his parish had just given an account of his stewardship, he deemed it fitting that he also should report his own. He remarked that this was not only the fortieth anniversary in his pastorate but the fiftieth in his ministry, his first sermon having been preached in Chester, Vt., in February, 1838, and his regular ministry beginning in May, 1838. After a year and a half of ministry in connection with the charge of an academy in Unity, N. H., he settled as pastor of the Universalist Church in Methuen, Mass., at the end of November, 1839, whence he removed to Lowell, July 1, 1842, and thence to the School Street Church in Boston, May 1, 1848.

“In giving account of his visible work, Dr. Miner stated that he had delivered the past year one hundred and forty formal discourses, sermons, and lectures, exclusive of many brief and unrecorded addresses. The whole number of formal discourses for fifty years is nearly six thousand. He attended in the past year forty-two funerals, sixteen of which were more or less directly connected with his congregation. Among these sixteen were several persons greatly venerated: Mrs. Gardner Greenleaf, Henry T. Spear (Chairman of the Parish Trustees), Charles H. McKenney and Dudley Williams. Other notable people in whose funerals he has taken part are the Rev. J. G. Adams, D. D., the Hon. John B.

Finch; and another to which he referred was that of George R. Coburn, a prominent young man of twenty-one years, who disappeared in December last, and whose remains were recovered from the Mystic River a week or two since. The whole number of funerals at which he has officiated during the last fifty years is two thousand one hundred and eight, and the whole number of weddings two thousand seven hundred and thirty-seven. Dr. Miner made no mention of his nineteen years of service as member of the State Board of Education, nor of his protracted and varied labors in the temperance field, nor of various other reformatory works in which he has been engaged, such as the promotion of peace and the like. Wherever he went he met those who had been his parishioners at one time or another in the neighboring parishes, or the more distant places in the East, and during his sojourn on the Pacific coast he met nearly one hundred and fifty of his old-time parishioners. He would not venture to claim that he had filled up the measure of his possibilities, but he had done what he could. Never, however, had his absolute confidence in the sublime principles of Universalism, necessitating a common destiny for the race, been stronger than at this hour.

“Never has the Gospel as understood by us failed to do its beneficent work. Paul’s rich expression of gratitude is always in point: ‘Blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Father of mercies, the God of all comfort, who comforteth us in all our tribulations that we may be able to comfort those that are in any trouble with the comfort wherewith we ourselves are comforted of God.’ Such a religion cannot fail to beget patience, resignation and hope; it cannot fail to soften the asperities of the human heart, to allay animosity, to purify affection, and to ennoble and render more enduring every good purpose. Not only does this religion come with satisfaction to our own hearts, but it is making its way in the world about us. Every

change of doctrine is toward the greatness of this hope. The trend of literary and unprofessional life is to this end, and the time cannot be distant when those pulpits in which this hope is tacitly cherished will strike their false flags and run up the banner of Zion. Meantime every Christian should seek to honor his profession, entering into every open door of opportunity; he should by constant attendance upon the worship of God, by assiduously keeping his children in church, and by his daily walk and conversation, so let his light shine before men that others may see his good works and glorify our Father which is in heaven."

There is something graphic, something to startle, in the thought: Could the dead have arisen and appeared before him, what a congregation! Could the "couples" whom in each case he had legally made one have come before him, the great Music Hall could have seated but little more than the half! Could the totals of his wise and helpful words, of his deeds of kindness, of help to the needy, of the effects, immediate and remote, of those forty-three years of service in his Master's cause, have been tabulated, what page had been large enough for the figures?

Beyond the brief summary of parish and church labor here attempted, this sketch need not particularize. The notable particulars will easily be "read between the lines." As pertaining to this Boston ministry of near half a century one duty must not be neglected. Dr. Miner was sensitively appreciative of the assistance, ever ready, ever energetic, ever efficient, which he received from parishioners. Could he have foreseen the task which his biographer is struggling to make worthy of its subject, he would have said to him: "Whatever you

say of me or do not say, do not fail to state, in most explicit terms, the assistance I received whenever it was needed." His presumed command shall be obeyed in the use of his own words, the very helpful Seventy-Fifth Anniversary report again put in requisition :

"The officers of the Society have been men of weight, and of high moral and official responsibility. In 1878 the Hon. Newton Talbot declined re-election as clerk, stating that, either as a member of the Standing Committee or as clerk, he had served the Society ever since 1845, thirty-three years, for the last seven years adding also the duties of treasurer.

"His wish was respected, and a warm vote of thanks was tendered him. Since that, he has added fourteen years more of service as chairman of the standing committee and member of the board of trustees of the School Street property, making forty-seven years of continuous official service. This latter position he still holds. Many others, in the earlier and in the later times, have rendered like most honorable service. Among the latter may be mentioned Dr. Guild, Jacobs, Ridler, Spear, Simonds, Norris, Masury, Johnson, of the departed; and Folsom, Clinton Viles, A. E. Viles, Williams, Whittemore, Fairbanks, Forristall, Morrison, Armstrong, Parker, Robinson, Bicknell, Gleason, of those still living. . . . The clerkship of the Church was filled with efficiency many years by John M. Lincoln, whose excellent wife still discharges its duties. In earlier times Charles Henderson, Sr., and in later times John M. Lincoln and A. C. Masury, many years each, discharged the duties of treasurer. The office is now filled by Lewis H. Wood.

"Its list of deacons contains most honorable names: Powars, Barry, Metcalf,¹ Brigham, Wing (son-in-law of Father Ballou), Joseph Lincoln, Sr., Edmund Wright, and

¹ Deacon Caleb Metcalf, an early co-worker with Father Ballou, and father of Henry B.

Thomas A. Goddard, all of whom deceased before our entrance into this church, and to whom was erected yonder memorial window; Safford, Curtis, Jacobs, Ridler, Norris, and Masury, deceased since we entered this church; and Crocker, Rogers, Potter, A. L. Lincoln, Jack, and Park, who are still among the living, — twenty in all. Various associations of ladies, especially the "Miner Charitable Society," have done great service in many ways. Presided over by Mrs. Joseph Lincoln, Sr., Mrs. Warren Bolles, Mrs. Moses Mellen, of the earlier time, and Mrs. Elliott, Mrs. Cushman, Mrs. Leonard, Mrs. Chubbuck, Mrs. H. M. Lincoln, Mrs. Huckins, of the later time, its labors have secured large measures of usefulness. Efficient were they also in raising the large amount for the Murray Fund.

"It remains for me to speak of the Sunday school interest. In 1848 I found a school of eighty members, with an average attendance for the two preceding years of sixty. Holding its sessions in Murray Hall, an exceedingly inconvenient location, it nevertheless grew under the superintendence of Thomas A. Goddard to the crowding of its quarters. In the new vestry below the church, it continued to increase until it numbered between four and five hundred. Our tribulations in 1867 somewhat diminished our numbers, and removal to this part of the city appeared to tend in the same direction. Our present number of about two hundred appears to promise an increase. The office of superintendent has always been worthily filled. B. B. Mussey, William E. Stowe, Col. Isaac H. Wright (son-in-law of Father Ballou), and Edwin Howland, in the earlier time; and of the later time, Thomas A. Goddard, James D. Perkins, Dr. H. I. Cushman, and B. B. Whittemore (son of Rev. Dr. Benjamin Whittemore, and grandson of Father Ballou), who is the present superintendent, have generally brought to their work marked ability, and most of them have served for a protracted period. In this respect, however, Mr. Goddard led the whole

list, having served thirty-one years, including two years abroad, during which he held the office. His large means, relative freedom from family cares, and his warm sympathy and Christian prayers for the young, gave him an influence to which few men can attain. Yonder window on my right, the gift of Mrs. Goddard, commemorates this service. He was in every way a tower of strength to the parish. Let it not for a moment be supposed, however, that in mentioning some names we undervalue the great service of many others. All along the line of parish, church, and Sunday-school interests there have been numerous workers—skilful, prudent, diligent, and efficient—who would have been a high honor to any cause to which they might have devoted themselves.

“Thus will it be seen that the Society has maintained marked stability in all the great lines of Christian effort, notwithstanding its large contribution of members to many of the suburban parishes. It has always been most generous and most considerate towards its pastors, two of whom cover the whole period of its history, and overlap each other four years.

“The past is secure. The blessing of God has wonderfully crowned our labors. We cannot doubt that like blessings, and even greater measures of success, may be ours in the years to come. Let the prayer of Moses in the text for the chosen people, — ‘The Lord God of your Fathers make you a thousand times as many more as ye are, and bless you, as he hath promised you,’ — let this be the earnest prayer of your hearts, and there shall be no narrow limits to your success. The same personal fidelity, steadfast resistance to the encroachments of secularism, pure, deep devotion to things highest and best, and prompt and united following of your Christian leaders, may give you a future that will even far outshine the most brilliant chapters of the past. Then will you have no occasion to rebuild fallen walls, but will enjoy the honor of gilding and glorifying the walls already buildd. The peace of God be with you.”

A Scottish philosopher has said that, health being the normal activity of all the physical organs and faculties, ideal physical happiness is the accompaniment of this ideal activity, and hence that no man can say, "I am well," unless he can at the same time thank God that he is alive. From boyhood to the grave Alonzo A. Miner never could say, accepting the philosopher's criterion, "I am well." He was a chronic invalid, maintaining his vigor and prolonging his days by prudence in every regard but one—he never was prudent of strength when his service was besought. But no abstemiousness, no bodily care, can avert the weakening inroads of age. When he had completed his sixteen years of service in Columbus Avenue, he plainly saw, not only that his youth was gone, but that venerable years had seriously told upon his capacity for exacting work. Even the stalwart strength of his great predecessor began to abate at the age of seventy, and the question of a colleague was taken into consideration. Dr. Miner had considerably passed that period. He was deeply impressed with the belief that he should seek relief from "the stress of parochial duties and of weekly preparation for the pulpit." He remembered the vote of the Society, passed in 1868, that his pastoral relation should be permanent, but of that he would make no account. He therefore, on the forty-third anniversary of his settlement, May 3, 1891, proffered his resignation, which being imperative was accepted. By unanimous vote, Rev. Stephen H. Roblin was called to the pastorate, and on January 10, 1892, was installed by customary service, Dr. Miner preaching the sermon; other parts

being by Rev. Messrs. F. A. Dillingham, C. W. Biddle, D. D., W. S. Woodbridge, and C. H. Leonard, D. D. Twelve months later he could say: "A year has now passed, and our junior pastor has already, by his genial qualities and his gentlemanly bearing, taken a high position both in the parish and in the city at large. Moreover, the mutual love and confidence between junior and senior are everything that could be desired."

The ending of the responsible labors of the pastorate could not, however, end Dr. Miner's labors as a minister. He could no more cease to preach than he could suspend breathing, for preaching the Gospel was no small part of his life. Vacant pulpits where the pastors were away, or where for the time the pastorates were vacant, must, if possible, have the services of the veteran. He became what in these days is called the "pulpit supply," and in the fraternal competition, happy was the parish that secured his services. For several successive Sundays up to his last on earth he went regularly to Natick, going out in the morning and returning at noon, and the people of the parish there began to think of him and take pride in him as their pastor. Frequently, in Rev. Mr. Roblin's absence, at times when not absent, Dr. Miner stood in his old pulpit and before the familiar faces in Columbus Avenue, and such an occasion was regarded as "an event." And all the other denominational activities were kept up—in the church, the unions, the associations, the conventions, the regular meetings of the ministers in "Ballou Hall" at the Universalist Publishing House, or wherever else, in

places not too remote, the brethren gathered in the name of their beloved church.

Formally, Dr. Miner had retired from the responsible duties of the Columbus Avenue pastorate, the title, senior pastor, however, naturally adhering to him. But, so deeply was he rooted in all the work of the parish, so tenacious are habits, that he could not, if he would, drop the "my people," or the "my parish," or the "my church"; and, in humorous accent and sincere phrase, he was perpetually apologizing for what he, but no one else, called his "presumption." In form his pastorate closed on the date of the acceptance of his resignation. In fact, the ministry of Alonzo Ames Miner in Boston ended only with his life, on the fatal day, Friday, June 14, 1895.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE BOSTON MINISTRY—REMOTE RESULTS.

BESIDES the effect of one's influence on the persons with whom he is in touch—those who see, hear, and feel him—are to be taken into the account the remoter effects which come from those thus acted upon. A great teacher instructs through his scholars. If we can believe a tithe of what biographers and critics say, Plato and Aristotle are as active to-day as they were in the Academic Grove and the Lyceum. The fact needs no elaboration: simple statement is sufficient. Every person, however humble, has an influence, and every person influenced passes somewhat of the effect on to others, to be continued. Nothing special is therefore claimed for Dr. Miner when it is said that, in addition to his immediate work as a Boston minister, was the effect of that work itself. In his case, however, the mediate and remoter results are so notable, are such a constituent in the life of his denomination and the community, that a biography would be inexcusably imperfect unless some attempt were made to analyze and characterize the outcome that is not the less real because he may not, in many regards, have had it in his calculation.

Rev. Stephen H. Roblin, in his introductory address on occasion of "the seventy-fifth anniversary," held December 18, at the evening session made the statement that Dr. Miner had "carved the name of his church into *ever-widening circles of thought and life*," substantially elucidating what has been alleged on the score of "remoter results," adding:—

"Though we are dealing largely with history to-night—that which can be externally recognized and tabulated—I am impressed with the belief that we are invited to discern the deeper, mightier, and more abiding verities which lie beneath all records, which cannot be described by words, which issue from the life and love and consecrated godliness of the innumerable hosts who have found here the significance of righteousness on earth, and have obtained confidence of an abiding faith in the eternity of heaven. This church, therefore, has found strength because the spirit of the great Teacher abides here, and has abode from the first so far as consistent, prayerful, faithful souls could command its presence. The church represents an unbroken life of consecration and fidelity. Though its membership has lived devotedly, served faithfully, and passed away, still *the new life coming in has so partaken of the old life which has gone up higher*, that it has been continually and pre-eminently Christian. It is not only, then, the historical record of an institution seventy-five years old we commemorate, but, in a higher and truer sense, the Church of the abiding God,—a living power of faith and righteousness. Where so much has been achieved, and such fruits of surpassing value now appear as a part of the life of this sanctuary, we who labor in its service *may well concern ourselves about these and future days*. How shall we so serve as to make the *to-days and to-morrows* as valuable as the *yesterdays*?"

In many and varied lines of activity, Dr. Miner's life has gone "higher" only to go on here in this earthly estate. His "yesterdays" became a power in the "to-days," and will continue to be felt in the "to-morrows." In some measure we may estimate what he did directly; but who can measure the results for good that, though not in his thought, are his work in fruition?

So far the attempt is restricted to some estimate of work for the church and the body of churches; later on there will be copious material for a portrayal of a man too large for any church, any sect, any distinctively religious organization. The church in School Street was by no means alone in making efficient workers for the Universalist denomination. There can, however, be no reasonable doubt that more than any other Universalist Society, the one over which Dr. Miner was pastor, and during his pastorate, and largely as the outcome of his influence, gave the denomination the larger and the more efficient number of workers for the general cause,—the "general" cause, let it be distinctly noted, the cause as inclusive of championship of the faith, of endeavor in the various forms of organization, and of the educational institutions under denominational patronage. And upon all A. A. Miner put "his mark."

In a preceding chapter an attempt has been made to do something of justice to the Sunday school—what by his presence and service Dr. Miner did in it and for it. Here the attempt may be made to show what that school did through its officers and members, and the first name to occur to those who know its history, is that of Thomas A. Goddard, his wife in active and efficient

sympathy with him in all things. It is true, and the fact is to be considered, that in the developing of character many constituents usually combine, and it is an impossible task to "differentiate" what comes from one source and what from another. Such a man as Mr. Goddard¹ could not have been wholly made by any one agency. The parish, the church, the Sunday school, various other denominational influences, and influences outside of any church, acted upon him and were acted upon by him. But it is a safe declaration that much in the Sunday school of the Second Society and in other Sunday schools was imparted by him; and no small part of his noble and well-rounded character was the outcome, the "reflex action," of the school upon him. It is also certain that in the evolution of the general Universalist Sunday school interest, not a few of the leading laymen of the denomination were largely educated and influenced to most effective work therein. The "Sabbath School Union," composed of the teachers in Universalist Sunday schools of Boston and the near vicinity,—the pioneer and archetype of all similar organizations, and unmistakably the most effective of the devices for extending and strengthening the Sun-

¹ The advent of Mr. Goddard into the superintendency, which he held so long, has an interesting accompaniment. When Col. Wright retired from the position, and the question pressed: "Who shall succeed?" Mr. Albert L. Lincoln, of the Lincoln family so inwrought with the history of the parish, was led to say, "There is Thomas Goddard; if you can induce him to take the office, I am sure that he will prove to be competent and capable." Mr. Lincoln, surviving at great age, has done the Second Society many services, but of these the chief was the bringing Mr. Goddard into the superintendency of the Sunday school.

day school cause in the denomination, and further, the maker of a large number of workers for "the general cause," — had its origin in School Street. It was among the earlier of the plans for advancing the Universalist faith and denomination that came from the restless brain of John D. W. Joy. It should be said that Mr. Joy did not get his Universalism from either Mr. Ballou or Mr. Miner. He was a born Universalist, emigrating from the church on Hanover Street. Of the three constructors of that Union still in active operation, Henry B. Metcalf, of School Street, and Hiram A. Bowles, of South Boston, have insisted, Mr. Metcalf yet insists, that the initial act was Mr. Joy's. And if so, did the prior and initial influence come from Mr. Miner? This cannot be said, but his spirit and example were a power in it. And in all his subsequent days he was a worker in the most original and helpful organization, never absent from its meetings, save when other duties prevented his attendance.

The very loose and inefficient organization of the denomination, particularly in its State Conventions and in the General Convention, characteristic of the Congregational feeling so strong two generations ago, was deplored by the more thoughtful believers. It cannot be said in truth that the insistence for more efficient and authoritative methods can be traced to any particular source. The late Dr. E. G. Brooks, the late ex-Governor Israel Washburn of Maine, the late Dr. A. A. Miner, the living Dr. T. J. Sawyer, J. D. W. Joy and H. B. Metcalf, were so much in earnest, and were so persistent in the enterprise, that the giving of their

names must not be deemed invidious, though others were in active sympathy with them.

The first effective step towards genuine organization was taken by the Massachusetts brethren. The first convention ever held in the denomination in which there was something of authority as well as influence, was a session in the Lowell First Universalist Church, where the first business report was submitted. And what makes this avowal pertinent here is that the incipency of the movement was mainly Dr. Miner's influence upon his own people. Mr. Metcalf, who prepared that report and submitted it, said, in the "social gathering" alluded to, giving no hint of his own agency in the undertaking:—

"The first organization that we had in the Universalist Church, outside of the churches themselves, that could be called an ecclesiastical organization, was the 'Massachusetts Universalist Convention.' It had its beginning in the Old School Street Church. Some of the people are here from that body. You do not realize what this advantage of organization is. You do not realize how our fathers distrusted organization. They had seen organizations interfere with the liberty of the people, and they had got prejudiced very much against organization, and we had quite a little fight in establishing the Massachusetts Universalist Convention; but the School Street Church favored the project, though some of the people who opposed it thought that they would be sorry for what they had done. The States all about have copied after our convention, however. It was the forerunner of the ecclesiastical organization of the denomination. The General Convention of Universalists came into existence about 1870. The same people were there; the same people were taking

the leading part; the same people are largely entitled to the credit. I do not want to claim all the credit of that Convention; but you know that the Massachusetts Convention was the stepping-stone to that larger organization."

Dr. Miner's influence upon his own people, particularly the younger and those especially active in the Sunday school, continuous through what they were inspired to do, was a leading agency, in some instances so dominant as to seem almost the exclusive one, in initiating home missions and the Universalist Publishing House; and it became a great inspiration and help to what had been done before his active day,—the establishing of academies and colleges and divinity schools under denominational auspices. In regard to these enterprises, his service—at times that of pioneer, at times that of ally—was so conspicuously personal and direct, and in the outcome so imperial, that it properly belongs to a chapter by itself,—a chapter which, if at all just in what it attempts, will, after every abatement made in justice to the work of other Church leaders, almost stagger under its heavy burden. There is, however, one particular in which what was done "through the parish" merits distinct statement.

It was sometimes said in criticism of Dr. Miner, that, while zealous, efficient, and a pioneer in distinctively mission work, he did not attempt much in the colonizing from his own parish, of the outskirts and new wards of the city. The late Captain Phillips, in the early days of the "hive," as he once called it, in Orchard Street, New York, in which he found the faith that made him rejoice all his days, used to say: "No sooner

had Brother Sawyer got his church well filled than he began to drive us out! 'Here, you go there, and you go elsewhere, and you go to some other place, and start up new societies!'" Dr. Miner did not take to the literal colonizing policy; he would come into it, but seldom began it. In truth, it pained his sensitive heart when compelled, as he often was, to part with a faithful and devoted parishioner called to other places of duty and activity. But while he did not relish criticism of his non-colonizing policy, he felt and insisted that the equivalent of that policy was in constant operation. At the "social parish gathering" he made confession of the regret with which he at times was compelled to part with parishioners, and replied to the criticism which has been noted: "Am I not," he asked, "speaking to you as to my children and grandchildren? I could not tell you how my heart has been tried again and again as I have seen families leave, called away by business or otherwise to some parish outside our limits. What the mobility of the people of a great city is, only those who have observed it can know. At the height of the greatest prosperity of our Sunday school in School Street Church, *about one hundred went out every year and another hundred came in*, and that was but an indication of the changes going on in the parish itself. One of our excellent brothers who spoke to us one evening, regretted that we had no more children to show. Bless his soul! he does not 'know how it is himself.' He has not been here to watch the operation. What matters it whether we go out and *plant a parish*, or pour streams of influence *into other parishes*, and, as Brother

Joy has said, into remote sections of the country? I have travelled somewhat in the United States and beyond, and at every point I have come across those who stand up and say: 'Dr. Miner, I have attended your church;' or, 'You married me.' And when I tell you I have joined nearly three thousand couples in the solemn bonds of matrimony—not so solemn as holy, I hope—you may have some indication of what our lines of action have been."

On occasion of the "parish gathering," the following toast was read: "Our Graduates: wherever found may they be true to their *alma mater* and to the faith she taught them,—willing workers for Universalism everywhere." Mr. Henry D. Williams, the president, introduced Mr. Joy in these terms: "When I first entered the School Street Sunday school I made the acquaintance of a teacher of a large Bible class. I knew him also as president of the Sabbath School Union; as president and treasurer of the State Convention; as president of the United States Convention; as treasurer of the Universalist Publishing House; as president of the trustees of Tufts College. Out of this busy life for the church he can best respond to our toast. I introduce to you Mr. John D. W. Joy." In his address Mr. Joy confirmed in advance the "pouring into other parishes." "I look back," he said, "to that time, thirty-five years ago, and recall the men and women who were my companions under the ministrations of Dr. Miner. How many are gone! I count it a great honor that I had the friendship of Father Ballou, Dr. Chapin, and Dr. Miner. They were eloquent men, and gave no uncertain

sound on Christianity; and from out of their ministrations and teachings the men and women who graduated still continue onward, developing into willing workers for the Christian church. . . . Those under our banner are scattered everywhere. I have heard of them in California, Michigan, Colorado, in Wisconsin, in Iowa, and have met them in Maine, in Minnesota, in Ohio, Washington, New Jersey, New York, Vermont, and all of the New England States. But wherever I have known them, in our church or in some other church, they were loyal to Christ and the work of his Church. Many of these men and women have built up our institutions into their present prosperity. Brother Metcalf has told you of them. We are proud of that Society that gave these men and women to work, who gave us what we have, and have continued to work to make the church greater with continued loyalty to Christianity."

What Mr. Joy and Dr. Miner claimed as the outcome of the Second Society's career, that it had been a feeder to other parishes in very large degree, is the "fact of history." The writer of this, two decades ago had frequent occasion to visit the Universalist parishes — in those days generally called societies — in New York and New Jersey, and he almost everywhere met with active and devoted members proud to call themselves the spiritual children of Thomas J. Sawyer, and their reminiscences of "Old Orchard Street" — Dr. Sawyer's metropolitan church — were vivid and joyful. And in much familiarity with the parishes in New England, legion seemed to be the name of the faithful believers who told what Dr. Miner had done for them in "Old

School Street." It is repeated that in this remoter outcome of parish and church fidelity, there is nothing peculiar. Every true minister is, usually unwittingly, working to the same remoter fruits of his toil in the Master's vineyard. It is simply claimed for the Universalist churches in Boston and in New York, that the numerical results were so exceptionally great as to merit distinct and grateful mention. The supplementary title to this chapter is no misnomer. And it must be added in unambiguous terms, that while the remoter triumphs were in the direction of sound doctrine, the gospel of glad tidings they were also. And they were therefore in the direction of righteousness and the humanitarian life.

There is, however, another "remote result," the producing of which, while no man could be regarded as the sole instrumentality, nor any cause be entitled to exclusive mention, certainly had in Alonzo Ames Miner a most powerful promoter, largely but not wholly due to his Boston ministry. The result—profound, momentous, prophetic, even revolutionary—must have special description and explanation in this chapter.

Among the problems which history is always presenting, upon which the critics of history feel impelled to speculate, and, if possible, to explain, the sudden change in great centres of religious thought and influence witnessed at the close of the War of the Rebellion is by no means the least. Why it happened that about the year 1865 the popular theological Orthodoxy became, in certain sections, "liberal," and this with startling abruptness, no one has yet been able satisfac-

torily to explain. Universalists fancied that a notable incident of the great struggle to uphold the National Union gives a sufficient solution of the new and truly fraternal spirit that had taken possession of ministers and people where, hardly a year before, extreme narrowness and Pharisaic intolerance had borne unchallenged sway, — unchallenged, that is, from within. The dying and the dead daily brought to their homes from the field of battle and from the camp hospitals, gave a new and imperative direction to the sympathies and the labors of the clergy of all the sects. The chamber where the young soldier was rapidly nearing the end, dying a martyr to patriotic duty and consecration, was in many an anxious and suffering home, and the soldier's funeral, with slow and measured step and the dirge of fife and muffled drum on the street and by the newly made grave, was witnessed almost daily.

In these inexpressibly sad experiences it was seldom the case that the hero belonged to the relatively few who had experienced the "change of heart" which the popular creed averred to be the indispensable condition of peace with God and salvation in the world to come. An occasional minister, having the courage of his awful convictions, made, in the hearing of sorrowing parents, brothers, and sisters, a logical application of the crushing theology which his ordination vows had made it his duty to preach, "even though the heavens should fall." The writer's memory recalls a few such contingencies in which his mind was divided between admiration for the heroic consistency of the preacher and horror for the creed that had brought him to such an extremity.

Such cases, however, were very exceptional. In the presence of the earthly remains of one who had died for his country, and, what was more, for liberty, the sympathetic pastor turned his back upon the "articles," refused to iterate the customary warning, and acted the part of the true minister of consolation.

Further, the terrible ordeal of the times brought together, in the same pulpit or at the brink of the same grave, ministers and people of all names and sects. They who had been wont to go their several ways—Baptists, Methodists, Presbyterians, Congregationalists, in one direction; Unitarians and Universalists in an opposite direction—no one even willing to know the thought and purpose of the others—were, under the pressure of a terrible exigency, forced into an affiliation which very soon was to be natural, helpful, truly Christian. During the national crisis the writer was active in the early stages of an editorial career that has extended to the present hour. The files will show that the theory of the great change which made the particular exigencies of the war a principal among the efficient causes, strongly possessed him.

Further reflection, however, based on the fact that it was mainly in New England, northern New York, and the West, and only in the intellectual centres of these sections of the land, that the great theological and fraternal transformation had, in any large degree, taken place, and on the further fact that England and Scotland had, in yet larger measure, been affected by the new thought and more fraternal spirit, has seriously modified the explanation that had seemed natural

and sufficient — modified it; it does not wholly falsify it.

It is needful here specially to emphasize that the "problem" is not in the simple fact that the change described has taken place, but most distinctively in the *extreme suddenness* of the passage, in thought and temper, from what was a very Old to a genuinely New Orthodoxy. The changes have been rung almost to satiety on the marvellous discoveries made and inventions wrought in the last half, more particularly the last quarter, of a century. The platform, pulpit, and periodical do not weary in making proclamation of what has been done, directly and remotely, to modify beliefs and politics, by locomotive, telegraph, telephone, and daily journal, and by the multiplication, in almost mathematical proportion, of the sciences — all having their origin at times yet fresh in the memories of men and women who refuse to class themselves with the old. Then we are reminded of additions made to the curriculum in divinity halls, particularly the science of mind, — of ethics, of intellectual law, of the relations of systems of thought and opinion to reason and the moral sense, — a science, rather a congeries of sciences, the teachers of which, in the early days of Andover, would have been looked upon as disturbers of the peace in all the churches, but all of which have wrought mightily to modify creeds and religious tempers in the years of the last generation. Of course the great modification was inevitable. But what does not seem to have been "of course," but which remains a problem, is the abruptness of the modification.

Now it happened to be the fortune of Alonzo Ames Miner to span, in his mature experience, these widely dissimilar epochs. His active ministry beginning about the year 1840, for a quarter of a century he was, so far as regard is had simply to his position as a minister in the Universalist Church, engaged in a hand-to-hand, for special periods incessant, conflict alike with the dogmas of the Calvinistic sects, and with others so far as they took from the older creeds their articles of belief. His work as a constructor and even leader in the politics, the organizations, and the institutions of the denomination of his love, certainly began before the year 1865, but for the years succeeding that date up to the hour of his decease, he was, by the cheerful acquiescence of his brethren, their great leader in the constant endeavor to adjust the machinery and scope of his denomination to the new conditions of thought and practical life; and during all of the three decades he was on terms of fellowship and fraternal co-operation with the churches still nominally Calvinistic. His seniors, of course, knew as well as he the animus of the sects at the time literally hostile, in many instances bitterly so, in their attitude towards the doctrines of Universalism and the people who took the name of Universalists. His juniors know the profoundly different feeling that, with here and there an exception, now pervades the nominally Orthodox communities; but they can never fully know, and with difficulty can form a conception of, the malign spirit that in the first half of the century thought itself doing God's service to speak evil everywhere of the sect which had for teachers and

champions Murray, Ballou, and their co-workers. But, despite the difficulty in any attempt to make impressive and distinct the sectarian bitterness of the earlier time, an intelligible portraiture of Mr. Miner's first twenty-five years' experience as a Universalist minister is largely contingent upon something of success in that endeavor. The hostility which he, in common with his co-workers, everywhere encountered, had in it distinct constituents which admit of a not less distinct elucidation.

First of all, and in the difficulty of dealing with it, is to be noted its almost malignant Pharisaism. The "I am holier than thou" was affirmed in every lineament of the truly Calvinistic face. As the great divine walked the streets there was that in every step which seemed to say: "If you would see a holy man you have but to look here!" Well does the biographer remember an occasion when, a noted revivalist having drawn to the church where he was to preach, a throng that overflowed into the street, the pastor having the service in charge gave a notice in these words: "The object of this meeting is that of reaching the sinners. Others are therefore requested to withdraw to the vestry where a prayer meeting will be held." The "others" had no difficulty in making the "differentiation," and on the instant withdrew; nor had the sinners — who accepted the invitation to remain! It may be doubted if such a notice could at this day be given in any New England pulpit. Despite time and place it would evoke derisive laughter. But in 1840 it was so much in keeping with the "matter of course," that its audacious self-righteousness hardly entered any one's thought.

Dr. Miner never coveted the thrift that follows fawning. He suppressed nothing that he felt should be spoken. He made no avowals that did not express honest convictions. He was made of glass, to be seen to the core of his soul. He was read by thousands, and those who read him at once knew him. Even bigotry feels its littleness when it presumes to call black that which every one not blind sees to be white. And here, in the person of Alonzo Ames Miner, stood an unmistakable apostle of righteousness, in character as white as Paul standing on Mars' Hill. He stood on the loftiest pedestal America could give a minister of the Universalist creed. Ere long he was invincible. He asked no favor; he simply took his own. And he lifted all that he represented, in public respect. It has been conceded that the causes which have given to Universalism and its organization the position in Boston, in Massachusetts, in New England, in other — not in all — sections of the land which are theirs by intrinsic right, are many and various. It cannot be an erring judgment that, in accounting for the great advance and enlightenment of public sentiment, gives very conspicuous mention of Alonzo Ames Miner and his Boston ministry.

Good deeds, ever cumulative in their continuous influence, never die. Even if the agencies which set them in motion cease their activity, the deeds go on by a momentum of their own. The immediate may be temporary; the remote is impregnable. It is conceivable that Macaulay's traveller from New Zealand, may ere long, with pick and spade, dig deep to find

the traditional foundations that once supported a traditional Gilded Dome, and that a tongue as foreign to Saxon as Saxon now is to natives of the Orient, will preach in temples reared upon sites of ancient ruins. But the results that have been designated as "remote" have got beyond the hands of the spoiler. In them, part of which he was, A. A. Miner will live; by his deeds he will continue to speak.

CHAPTER XXII.

THE BOSTON MINISTRY—SPECIAL COMMEMORATIONS
AND RECEPTIONS.

A LONG chapter could be filled with particulars of receptions and social gatherings, and yet restrict the account to those which were specially to honor the pastor and his wife. A very brief mention must be made of a few of those happy occasions. In another chapter the visit of Dr. and Mrs. Miner to California has been sketched. A parting service preceded their going, and a welcome service immediately followed their return. The semi-centennial of the organization of the Sunday school connected with the Society was an event by no means to pass by without due commemoration. A well-planned programme was carried out on the evening of Sunday, the 3d of May, 1885, of course under the direction of Superintendent B. B. Whittemore. As there has been occasion to say, much of the help that came from the Lincoln family in the earlier days, and particularly of the time when the members of that family were friends indeed in that their friendship was urgently needed, it will not be invidious if it is noted here that three of them were present as officers at the semi-centennial — Mr. and Mrs. John M. and the veteran Albert L., John holding the

office of Vice-President. Dr. Miner led in prayer, and Miss J. S. Cook furnished an original hymn. Superintendent Whittemore gave the historical address, replete with incidents of the growth of Boston, alike in population and territory, and with statistics of the neighboring parishes and schools, elaborate mention being made of the officers serving at different epochs in the school's history,—the indefatigable John M. Lincoln having filled no less than five different positions of responsibility. Col. Isaac Hull Wright, Hon. H. B. Metcalf, and Dr. Miner gave each an address,—Mr. Metcalf's literally crowded with historic memories. The pastor closed the commemoration with the benediction.

The active members of the Society, taking or making many occasions to attest their love for and devotion to their pastor, readily acted upon a suggestion made by Mr. John M. Lincoln, and after his decease carried out by Mrs. Lincoln, and presented to the Society a portrait of Dr. Miner, which now adorns the parlors of the church on Columbus Avenue. The young artist, Mr. Churchill, was entrusted with the enterprise, and his work has received much commendation. The formality of presentation befell on the evening of Thursday, December 6, 1888, Mr. Whittemore making the presentation address, Mr. H. D. Williams receiving in behalf of the standing committee, the pastor, of course, being called upon for an address, which under the circumstances could but be couched in most grateful and affectionate terms. The happy occasion was ended by songs rendered by members of the church quartette.

There was a complimentary reception to the pastor on

occasion of the fortieth anniversary of his pastorate; a quite elaborate and happy commemoration it proved to be. Advantage was taken of the opening of the church in October, 1894, to surprise the pastor, by a formal and affectionate commemoration of his eightieth birthday, which befell in the preceding August. There was a presentation of a vase containing eighty carnations, with complimentary addresses by Rev. Mr. Roblin, the pastor, and Mr. Whittemore. There was, of course, a felicitous response by the recipient, who with his wife was made happy by the thoughtful commemoration.

Tender mention must be made of Dr. Miner's forty-seventh anniversary sermon, preached May 5, 1895, in that he then administered the communion service for the last time; and also of his preaching in his old pulpit, June 2, 1895, inasmuch as this was his last sermon from that desk, his text being "God is love," and the discourse almost premonitory in its tenderness and solemnity. It may not be out of place, even in this connection, to make mention of another last service of its kind; the writer is not sure that it was the last, but he believes it to have been. Mr. Maturin B. Ballou, youngest son of Rev. Hosea Ballou, suddenly died while in Egypt, the remains being brought home for burial. Dr. Miner officiating, the service being in Mount Auburn Chapel, took occasion to speak of the mystery of the process of death, in terms and accents that seemed premonitory of his own decease, saying that he did not look forward to it with any anxiety. This was on the 9th of June, just five days before his own death.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE OLD WORLD—LETTERS.

BUSY in almost countless ways, Dr. Miner did relatively little with his pen in consecutive literary work. It is therefore particularly exceptional good fortune that places in the biographer's hands quite a number of letters, written to his wife and relatives, descriptive of what he saw and heard during his travels in Europe in 1851,—a relaxation and change of activity made possible by the reconstruction of the church in School Street in that year. Here, at the formal close of the history of his Boston ministry, it will be for the reader an agreeable diversion to present a selection from his correspondence, while the autobiographical character will specially interest the many who would see A. A. Miner somewhat as he saw himself. Certainly his Old World experience, though of short duration, is no small fraction of his busy life. As it was not in his nature to be idle, even when rest was his imperative need, and as he was away from the duties which literally put fetters upon him when at home, his only escape from the repose he needed was in the pen, and the pen was kept at most exacting work. Sometimes two letters would be mailed the same day. If there is a break for a week, longer or shorter, it was

because he was on the road or on the sea, where he was constrained to do nothing but think, and that he "kept up a thinking" may be taken on trust; in fact, he dates some of his letters from the sea. It will be seen that he writes from notable places,—London, Stratford-on-Avon, Paris, Genoa, Leghorn, Naples, Rome, Florence, Vevay, Basle, and other classic cities. In some instances the letter contains paragraphs or sections written on consecutive, at least on different, days.

The surprise that every letter is written with so much care, in legible chirography, careful punctuation, with a few exceptions without the labor-saving abbreviation, seemingly as if it were copy prepared for the printer, is in part explained in a sentence in a letter to one of his sisters, in which he asks her carefully to preserve it, as he intended that his letters should be a record of his experiences in the Old World. Yet few, in writing to those who know the writer's characteristics, and who easily make out sentences the chirography of which might puzzle a stranger, feel called upon to write with the care with which an accountant keeps a ledger. Those who remember Dr. Miner's fondness for details, and his mathematical proclivities, will not be surprised at the painstaking precision with which "he takes the measure" of temple, column, or man. The number of feet is often supplemented with the inches, even in the larger measurements, as if he saw having the two-foot rule and tape in hand. With very rare exceptions, there has been no occasion to study out a word, to indicate a paragraph, or to modify paragraphs, or to change a punctuation point,—such marks, however, being far

more frequently used forty years ago than modern rules and taste permit. The printing of all his correspondence would fill a very long chapter. The letters which follow are selected, and are given in chronological order.

The first letter submitted describes Manchester, England, and not unnaturally notes comparisons with the Lowell he so well knew. The Mr. Miles referred to was the late Rev. Henry A. Miles, at the time pastor of the First Unitarian Church in Lowell, who was his travelling companion in Europe. This is the letter which explains that one object of his correspondence was the making a record of his travels.

LIVERPOOL, May 5th, 1851.

DEAR SISTER MALVINA,—I arrived in Liverpool yesterday, as you will learn by letters to my wife, after a protracted and somewhat boisterous passage. I attended church twice yesterday, and found some of the music the same as with us. I shall give no description of L. here, as I shall explore it more fully on my return from the continent. I called upon Rev. David Thom this afternoon and found him absent in London.

May 6th. Last night I left Liverpool for Manchester, about sixty miles distant. The country between the two places, and especially near them, is very beautiful. It is under a high state of cultivation, and seems almost like a continuous garden. Even by the borders of the railway there are beds of flowers, and on the sloping banks on either hand. We frequently see strange contrasts of rich and poor, side by side, the one occupying elegant mansion houses (I speak of the open country now), and the poor very moderate, scarcely comfortable houses, with thatched roofs—that is, roofs covered with straw, carefully on lengthwise up and down the roof, in

layers like shingles, but some two feet long, and carefully fastened at the top. These roofs not unfrequently take fire, with what results you can easily guess.

Manchester is a city of some 400,000 inhabitants, including the suburbs, and is on the whole a much more cleanly city than I expected to find. It is a manufacturing city, not unlike Lowell, but some ten times larger. The mills are owned by individuals in some cases, and by firms in other cases, never by corporations. The mills are dingy, unpleasant brick edifices, without much yard room, and every way less attractive than the mills in Lowell. Between the operatives in Manchester and Lowell, judging from what I saw, the difference is not so great as the public generally suppose. The operatives at Lowell are undoubtedly degenerating, and in a few years, for aught I can see, will be on a level with those of Manchester. Young men, and women too, were at work in the Manchester mills upon stone and brick floors barefoot, alike clad in a kind of striped shirt, not unlike a sailor's, and looked wayworn, and thin, and disheartened. Some wore shoes, and others what they call "clogs," a shoe with wooden soles, three-quarters of an inch thick, and the bottoms of the entire soles, heels and all, thickly studded with large square-headed nails. I visited one mill, owned by a Mr. Cook, in which about five hundred hands were employed, and in connection with which there was a school sustained by the owner, of about ninety children (girls), half of whom attend the school in the morning and work in the mill in the afternoon, and the other half reverse this. They are mainly the children of parents employed in the mill, and are from 9 to 13 years of age. The law does not allow children to enter the mills under 9 years of age, and then only half a day at a time till 13, attending school the other half. Hence this arrangement. The owner schools them probably not from benevolence, but from his need of their labor. After 13, they can labor the full day, which, however, with Manchester, and throughout

England, is but $10\frac{1}{2}$ hours, instead of from 12 to 14, as in Lowell. I looked into the houses occupied by the better class of operatives, and found them vastly inferior to those occupied by them in our country. With this, however, the owners have nothing to do, since the laborers live how and where they please; or rather where and how their very narrow means will let them.

A little way southwest of the city is Manchester College, a superior edifice, and surrounded by beautiful and extensive grounds. We also visited the barracks of the royal soldiers, horse and foot; Salford District Museum, surrounded by a park which, till I saw the parks of London, seemed to me very beautiful, and, indeed, it is beautiful; the Merchants' Exchange, an honor to any city; an old cathedral (Episcopal place of worship) built prior to the time of Henry VIII.; the very aisles of the church, as well as the court around, paved with the monuments of the dead (inscriptions upon flat stones making the floor), impressing one with the transitory nature of all earthly things. Three hundred years have gone by, and busy men walk above those ancient ashes, heedless of their presence, and unsympathizing with the many cares which occupied their years on the earth.

I witnessed an exhibition here which may very much interest your children. Six monkeys sat at table, with "bib and tucker on," and took refreshments which were brought in by another monkey as waiter, and served up by a gentleman at the table. One of them rode a span of dogs (shaggy Newfoundlanders), which were saddled and bridled, standing with one foot on one dog and the other upon the other dog. The dogs also, four in number, performed some wonderful feats, such as walking on two legs in all possible positions, two on opposite sides, two legs on the same side, on their hind legs erect like a man, on their fore legs—stood upon their heads, were dressed in uniform, and danced a jig upon their hind feet, balanced on the backs of two chairs placed together, and

then drawn apart until they could barely touch them, their fore feet on one, and their hind feet upon the other. They feigned to be dead, and when their master's back was turned jumped up and ran away. When chained with a collar about their neck, they slipped the collar, and then went and put it on again of themselves.

As we were walking in the evening (Mr. Miles and myself), we met a little boy, who said, "Shall I sing you 'Yankee Doodle?' Only one *cent*." You could but have felt that he knew at once that we are Yankees. The English have no "*cent*." But *cent* and "Yankee Doodle" are both American.

In writing my friends I have scribbled you this epistle to testify my affection for you and all your family, though I am far from you. I never, perhaps, felt more perfectly sensible of the deep love I bear all my friends than now. I wish you to preserve this, that I may keep my letters as the record in part of my travels. I am absent for some months, and shall return, if possible, by the first of September.

I remain very affectionately,

Your brother,

A. A. MINER.

Of course an opportunity to attend a mammoth Sunday-school Union was improved. The sight of the Duke of Wellington, along with Nelson Great Britain's pride, was a very interesting incident. A visit to the great English Courts gave interesting material for a letter. The superbly handsome Queen's Life Guards made a notable picture.

LONDON, May 8th, 1851.

MY VERY DEAR WIFE, —

I left Birmingham for London this morning at 7.30 o'clock, arrived at 10.30 o'clock, riding 100 miles. At 6 o'clock I

attended the anniversary meeting of the (Evangelical) Sunday School Union. It was addressed by several gentlemen, Rev. John Smith, Congregational; Rev. Mr. Beaumont, Methodist; Rev. Mr. Burnet; Judge Darling, of Pennsylvania; and Rev. J. Gleason, colored preacher from Canada West, whom you know. Judge Darling was asked, by a gentleman in the midst of the audience, if he did not find the drinking habits of the people, especially twenty or thirty years ago, a hindrance to Sabbath school success. Many voices cried, "Turn him out." The chairman, a member of Parliament, declined allowing an answer. Temperance is not in very good odor here. Ale, brown stout, wine, are constantly on our tables everywhere; but I have seen no occasion to take anything of the kind. At the meeting I speak of, the audience was large—say 4,000 to 5,000 persons—many of them teachers and ministers. It was full of merriment, not to say buffoonery. Evidently the awful fate of men did not rest very heavily upon their souls. Many sharp points were made, in regard to local religious matters, and some severe, but perhaps not unmerited, strictures upon American slavery.

May 9th. In taking a general survey of the city, we accidentally fell in with His Grace the Duke of Wellington, a venerable old man of 82 years, somewhat bowed but firmly seated upon his noble horse, and attended only by a single servant. He was dressed as a citizen, with white neckerchief and white pants. No man is so honoured in England as he. The monuments of the nation's gratitude meet him everywhere—in statue, trophy, historical records, and in the names of streets and public edifices and works. A large colossal bronzed statue of him on horseback is placed at one of the entrances of Green Park, and another similar in front of the Royal Exchange. In the Mall by Green Park is a mortar, singularly mounted, which was left by the French army when, hearing of the defeat of Napoleon at Waterloo,

they hastily raised the siege of Salamanca and departed. It was presented to Wellington by the Spaniards, as a token of their gratitude.

I could but reflect, as I met him to-day, upon the emotions which must have thrilled his bosom when he led the army against Napoleon at Waterloo; and how proud must have been the triumph there gained. Napoleon was the terror, the scourge, and the conqueror of the nations; and from that moment Wellington was the conqueror of Napoleon, and honored thenceforward by all the world. Aside from all considerations of the character of military triumphs, when I reflected to-day, as I looked upon him, upon the transcendent qualities, the dauntless courage, and the firm resolve requisite to such an achievement, I felt a glow of reverence which pervaded my whole being.

A singular incident occurred a few days since at the Crystal Palace. As some French gentlemen were unpacking a statue of Napoleon for the exhibition, the Duke of Wellington with his daughter on his arm, came up, and was pointed out to these gentlemen, who instantly raised their hats in token of respect and kind feeling towards the warrior under whose lead England became the conqueror of France. So grows the feeling of amity among the nations. I have to-day visited the three high courts of the realm, viz., Common Pleas, Exchequer, and Court of Queen's Bench. Of the latter, Lord Campbell, High Chancellor, is Chief Justice, and of the former, Sir John Jarvis is Chief Justice, and Serjeant Talfourd, a barrister, and formerly known as a poet, is an associate judge. Five judges constitute a full bench in each department, four of whom only, as usual, were in attendance. Among the barristers in the Court of Queen's Bench, was Sir Fitzroy Kelley, who is reputed one of the cleverest lawyers in the kingdom. Judges and barristers are arrayed either in gowns or robes, and all in wigs.

We took a cursory view of Hyde Park, Green Park, and St. James' Park; also an outside view of Buckingham Palace, the Queen's residence; of Apsley House, residence of Wellington; of Westminster Abbey, and the new houses of Parliament. In the evening, at 9 o'clock, I met, by appointment, Rev. Dr. Thom, of Liverpool, at the house of his publisher and friend, Mr. Lewis, with two from the University College. I found him a man of extensive and varied information, and by no means disinclined to impart his knowledge to others. His conversational powers are very good, and there is no oppressive silence in his presence. If he is himself conscious of his powers, it is what may be expected of one at his time of life. He exceeds, probably, 60 years of age. I spent two hours and a half here very pleasantly, and saw something of London life in returning to my hotel, which I reached at 12 o'clock.

May 10th. This morning we visited the Queen's First Life Guards, at their barracks. They are a regiment of 400 horse, every one of which is black, and the men from six feet to six feet three inches in height. Handsomely uniformed, perfectly drilled, clad in armor throughout, when fully accoutred, with steeds of the first class, one would suppose Her Majesty quite safe under their protection. They are quartered a little to the east of Regent's Park. Their armor weighs about seven pounds to each man.

The pay of these fine fellows is two shillings per day, out of which they board themselves; leaving about thirty shillings sterling per month, which is equivalent to about \$7.50 of our money. I also visited the Zoological Gardens in Regent's Park (an account of which is contained in a letter of this date to Fanny), where I heard the band of musicians, some thirty to forty in number, connected with Her Majesty's First Life Guards, discourse most excellent military or martial music. It being Saturday night, we looked into some of the "gin palaces," as they are termed, and saw men

and women buying and drinking liquors, in any number, till 12 o'clock. But more of this another time.

Yours, &c.

A. A. M.

The living curiosities in the Zoological Gardens intensely interested Mr. Miner, and literally set him to counting. The way he lived in London is described. The Meat Market, on the site of the martyrdom of John Rogers, modified the historic conception of Smithfield.

LONDON, May 10th, 1851.

MY DEAR SISTER FANNY, — Supposing you would prefer a letter upon some matters connected with my observations, I shall give you an account of my visit to-day to the Zoological Gardens. These, like one or two other places in the city, are extensive grounds, in what is called Regent's Park, interspersed with beautiful grass plots, trees, and beds of flowers; and extensive buildings, cages, and aviaries, for animals, reptiles, and birds. The Park itself is equal in extent to four or five good farms. It contains four hundred and fifty acres, nearly of a circular form, and beautifully traversed by broad smoothly gravelled walks, interspersed with shrubbery, and parts of it at a time are fed down by sheep. The Gardens are upon the north side, occupying both sides of the street on the northern boundary, the two places being connected together by an arched passage-way under the street. As we enter the Gardens, we pass on to an elevation resembling a stone bridge, and, descending by steps, we find in the sides of this, cages for animals, such as lions, tigers, leopards, and other beasts of prey. A grisly bear is shown, captured in California in 1850, June 1st. Among the larger animals were several elephants, camels, a rhinoceros, and several giraffes. These last were some fourteen feet high, that is, could raise their heads erect to that height. A large hippopotamus also was shown. An

incalculable number almost of smaller animals — a great variety of monkeys, some of which were not larger than small rats, and bear very little resemblance to any specimens of the animal I had ever seen before. Among the birds were the stork, with his immense bill and pouch upon his breast, not unlike this figure,¹ pelicans, with their large pouches attached to the bill itself, ravens, magpies, turtle-doves, condors, an immense bird caught in 1848, and ostriches, full six to eight feet high. One of them snatched my silver pencil-case from my hand and swallowed it in an instant. They can digest even iron itself. There were perhaps fifty species of parrots, and other birds in proportion. There are several aviaries in which they are kept, one of which, made of wirework, is a building one hundred and sixty to one hundred and seventy-five feet long and twenty to thirty feet wide in each part, the parts being double, or two similar buildings side by side. Some of the birds were the most beautiful imaginable, and were gathered from the extremities of the earth.

Then there were snakes and adders of all descriptions and sizes. Among these are shown the asp and puff adder. It is quite impossible for me to give you any adequate idea of the extent and number of creatures included in this show.

The people, also, constituted a fine display. Private carriages to the number of some two hundred were waiting at the gate, with drivers and footmen in livery, white kerchiefs, short breeches, and long stockings. Some two thousand ladies and gentlemen were within the Gardens, walking, chatting, taking refreshments (for there are refreshments), and listening to martial music from the band belonging to Her Majesty's Life Guards, thirty to forty members, all in uniform.

It would interest you to see how English ladies walk or ride attended by servants. If in a carriage, the driver is on the box, and the footman on a similar seat behind, both in

¹ A figure is here outlined in the letter.

livery. If on horseback, the ladies ride forward, and the attending servants, also on horseback and in uniform, ride two or three rods behind. If on foot, the servant, still in uniform, walks a few steps behind, carries the lady's shawl, parasol or umbrella, and overshoes in his pocket. I saw quite careworn women thus attended in Hyde Park yesterday. But one of the prettiest sights I have seen was two little girls, not over eight or ten years of age, riding in Hyde Park, on two small ponies, and attended by a servant-man on horseback. In all the streets here, as also in Liverpool, Manchester, and Birmingham, it is common to see donkeys, resembling mules, about as large as a calf of a year old, harnessed into a kind of cart, and drawing astonishingly large loads.

Many of the carriages, both public and private, here are like our hacks and coaches, but some very different indeed. One is a kind of chaise on two low wheels, and a seat for the driver behind and quite above the chaise top, so that he drives with reins quite above it. This kind is called cabs. Then they have a kind of box, say three feet square, and placed directly upon the axletree of a two-wheeled carriage. These have two seats, backs together, those occupying one seat facing the horse, and those occupying the other facing the other way. Omnibuses much like ours. As I returned from the Gardens, I passed the church which the Rev. George Whitefield caused to be built, and in which he preached. It is in a street called "Tottenham Court Road," and was an interesting place.

You would be interested to observe our style or rather mode of living here. It is common to take rooms with beds, and pick up one's meals wherever he happens to be. We have now our lodging rooms and breakfasts, paying about a dollar a day—each person—therefor, and find our other meals elsewhere. On Monday we shall go to another place, and have breakfast and tea at our lodgings. The beef, mutton, and potatoes are by far the nicest I ever saw. I had no conception what a good potato was. Oranges also very good,

and cheap ; about one penny, or two of our cents, apiece. But, not content with these and other good things, everybody drinks ale, porter, brown stout, gin, whiskey, and what not.

May 12th. I have to-day visited Guildhall, an elegant edifice, in which were some choice statuary and paintings, and where certain courts are held. In the police courts, I saw the effects of the drinking habits — which were the same as in other countries. Sentences of the court were very light, some not even paying costs of trial. This morning I visited Smithfield Market — the spot where John Rogers was burnt at the stake, and from which London, with three millions of inhabitants is supplied with meat. There was the astonishing number of 5,017 beeves and 81,490 sheep. Hundreds of the cattle from the north of England had no horns at all (Durham), and the greater portion were red and white — largely white. I also passed thro' Cock Lane, and saw the house with which is connected the story of the Cock Lane ghost.

I suppose you are married now ; if so, please make my love to your husband, and see that you use him well.

Your affectionate brother,

A. A. MINER.

Mr. Miner saw the Queen and Prince Albert at the Exhibition in the Crystal Palace, and other representatives of royalty, but it was the Prince rather than his wife who fascinated him. Once more he meets with the Iron Duke, and makes comparison between his Roman nose and another in which his interest was more personal.

LONDON, May 14, 1851.

MY VERY DEAR WIFE, —

I was telling about the Exhibition. There are many things that struck my eye, an account of which I must give when

I see you. Among these is some beautiful white shell-work, representing a crown supported by a pedestal, from the Bahama Islands. Some crystals from chemists in Manchester, Eng.; an orrery, giving the relative motions to all the planets, primary and secondary, including the thirteen asteroids; splendid little palaces, all furnished as if for occupation; and most exquisite inventions for roasting joints, making them turn themselves by the heat generating a current of air, and various other matters. By the way, I like to have forgotten to say that I saw the Queen and Prince Albert in the exhibition; also the Prince and Princess of Prussia. The Queen is about your height; looks plump, but not stout; fair complexion; hair not very dark, not so dark as my own; eyes blue I think, and expression gentle. I was very near her and saw her all I cared to. She was dressed in a rich, unadorned blue silk, black silk visite trimmed with black lace, and light fancy bonnet. She attracted the multitude, of course, very much; but she seemed only slightly conscious of the fact, and passed rather hastily from one object to another, as if to avoid the many. She was leaning upon the arm of the Prince of Prussia.

Prince Albert, who was escorting the Princess of Prussia, is a genteel-looking man, about five feet ten inches in height, I should say, dark hair, not stout, slightly shy in his manner, and altogether pleasant to look upon. The English people appear to be most loyal to their Queen; and she with the little power she has, endeavors to do all she can, I think, for the common people.

I also met again the Duke of Wellington, and walked by his side for some minutes, observing him when he could not observe me. He was dressed as before. His nose is extremely Roman, at least as much so as mine. So, you see, a "big nose" is something to boast of. His countenance was rather solemn; at least, no indications of a smile. He is to give a ball in a few days, and has invited the Hon. Abbott Lawrence.

Such are his sports at 82 years of age. Conquering Napoleon was his pastime at 45. With Wellington stands associated in the affections of the people, Lord Nelson, the hero of the Nile, of Copenhagen, and of Trafalgar. Memorials of him meet you everywhere, in St. Paul's and in the streets.

You would be struck, first of all with the great politeness of the people here, and with the neatness of all the better classes. Gentlemen's and ladies' servants, and servants of all the better hotels, are neatly dressed, and more frequently in white neckerchief. If, in making change to you, they give you pennies, they wrap them up in a paper, as our clerks do sugar plums. They instantly observe a foreigner, and an American as well as others. But there is a kindness manifested toward all, which makes their presence agreeable. I have quite changed my mind as to the favorableness of this opportunity for visiting London. There is no lack of accommodations, but rather a lack of visitors to occupy those places which have been prepared for them. The prices, too, tho' raised in many boarding houses, remain generally very much as usual; and I think will be quite as low as usual before the summer is ended. The strangers are *expected* here; sermons have been preached with reference to it, public places have been made more easily accessible than usual; all things seem favorable. It is a good time to observe the customs of the people, one of the first-to-be-observed of which is, carriages in passing rein to the left, instead of to the right as with us. This gives the lady, in case of contact, the seat farthest from danger. Then the footman is by no means an inconvenient appendage to a carriage; since he can open the carriage door, notify the parties when the carriage is ready, &c., without disturbing the driver on his box. And it is amusing to see the approaches to fashion in different degrees. The man who cannot have his carriage, span of horses, driver, and footman, complete, does things on a smaller scale; especially is this true of professional gentlemen, with whose

success appearances have much to do. I see frequently gentlemen riding in a chaise, with a boy in livery mounted up behind.

Then at the Exhibition, there are especial entrances provided for especial classes of persons. The Queen enters at the north end of the transept; others in carriages drive to the south entrance. Then there are especial places assigned to servants in which to stand, and designated by a placard, or by placards. Servants here learn to be very polite to their superiors, and habitually exhibit the same politeness to strangers.

The hotels here are singularly named, as well as singularly conducted. "The Red Dragon," the "Bull Tavern," "The Hen and Chickens," "The Cock Tavern," and so forth, and so on. They do not set a common table, but give you just what you call for, on a table by yourself. Sometimes several gentlemen are placed at the same table, each having his tea set and dishes quite by himself.

A gentleman from New York, acquainted with the Lawrence family, has just come in, and is giving an account of Mr. Lawrence's dress and equipage to-day, as he attended the Queen's Drawing Room. He was dressed in silk stockings, buff small clothes, and coat with standing collar to his ears, trimmed in gold lace throughout. His carriage was also a remarkable specimen of republican simplicity.

Yours, &c.,

A. A. MINER.

In the "gay city" the son thinks of his parents in the rustic village, and outlines for them his contemplated route. He meets with Rev. Athanase Coquerel, and comments on French theology. The letter is touchingly filial, and must have gladdened the hearts for whom it was specially meant.

PARIS, May 30th, 1851.

DEAR PARENTS, — As you have but a single son who is altogether your own, I have thought it possible that you might be desirous of knowing how he fares in a land of strangers. I have now been absent from home about two months, and have not had a sick day, save a little sea-sickness. I have met with kindness everywhere. In fact, the world is a great deal better than it gets credit for being. With all the sin there is in it, it has much sympathy and much honor. This very letter I will send by some gentleman from Massachusetts, who will there drop it in the office, and thus confer upon me a great favor. I shall remain in Paris three or four days longer, then go by way of Lyons, Marseilles, and the Mediterranean sea, to Naples, in the south of Italy. Thence through Italy to Rome, Venice, Florence, Leghorn, Milan, over the Alps to Geneva, and down the Rhine to Holland, so back to England. I do not do this as a mere matter of sight-seeing, but to gain information, to acquire broader and more liberal views, to enlarge one's thoughts and feelings, and to fit one's self for a more efficient discharge of the duties that devolve upon him as a public teacher. I feel that I am already more than compensated by the influences of what I have seen and learned for all the trouble of my journey. There are many very sad and interesting lessons gained from an examination of the monuments on which are inscribed a nation's ideas of glory. Battlefields, trophies of victories, and paintings of celebrated warriors, campaigns, and victories are everywhere shown. And generally speaking, those who have gained these victories and achieved these wonderful exploits have all passed away. There are some exceptions. In the military hospital in Paris, called the Hôtel des Invalides, there are quite a number of men who served under Napoleon Bonaparte, and now find a home with some three thousand others in the very institution where are deposited the remains of Napoleon. Yet the objects for which they fought have all

passed by. We everywhere meet with memorials of those who lived centuries ago, and who in their day dazzled the world with the glory and splendor of their retinue, and magnitude of their enterprises. Yet their glory has departed, and they themselves have mingled with common dust. I to-day have been in the remains of the palace of Thermes, in Paris, as old as the Christian era. Of course, it is an entire ruin. The Roman Emperor Julian once resided there, and remnants of statues dug up in many parts of Paris, all of which are referable to the period when Rome governed ancient Gaul, which is now France, are strewed about as if in very mockery of human ambition. When I look on these, I feel as I never did before the force of the question, "Lord, what is man that thou art mindful of him, and the son of man that thou visitest him?" And yet all around me are men strutting their brief hour, puffed up with a notion of their greatness, and living as though they had no sense of life's duties and dangers.

There, I would by no means have you think that I take a false view of life—a cheerless, hopeless view, because I have written thus in this wilderness of human souls. No, I hope for much—for everything *conceivable*—in fact, for things inconceivable, "for eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither have entered into the heart of man, the things which God hath prepared for those that love him." To such an inconceivable glory shall all the partialities of this present state give place. You will be interested in the fact that I have made the acquaintance of Rev. Athanase Coquerel, a Protestant clergyman here in Paris, who rejects much of the old theology, and with the rest the doctrine of endless punishment. He is a very intelligent and a very modest man. Being a member of the National Assembly, he has given us tickets to the same, which we are to use to-morrow. France is a Roman Catholic country, having only some nine hundred Protestant ministers to some thirty or forty thousand Catholic.

And, as might be expected, the people have forms without religion, — souls, but no conscience. Sunday is scarce at all regarded, except it is made a day of sports. Labor goes on as usual; stores are generally open, of all kinds; comic concerts, dancing, peddling, Punch-and-Judy performances, etc., fill up the evening. Last Sabbath there was a horse-race at Versailles, — some twelve miles from Paris, and the country residence of the kings of France during the days of royalty, — at which Louis Napoleon, the President of the Republic, was present.

I have thus written a line in great haste to testify of my love to you, to whom I owe so much, and whose days I should be glad to do all I can to crown with peace and happiness. I trust to return in health, and to be permitted to see you soon after. I pray that you may be blessed with health and a long and happy life. The last news I had of you was through Maria, Maria third, when Fanny was visiting her. Give my love to Fanny and her husband, to Rachel, charging her to be faithful in the treatment of that limb, which I am glad to hear is still improving, and Malvina and Emma Eliza and their husbands and families. Remember me also to grandmother. Though far from you all, you never seemed dearer to me than now. The same God protects faithfully in all lands. To Him be everlasting praise. At 1 o'clock at night,

I am your affectionate son,

A. A. MINER.

In the city where Christopher Columbus made his advent into a world so much of which he was to make known to an astonished Europe, Mr. Miner found a special interest in the royal palaces and churches, and in paintings by the masters, and a table d'hôte sets at work his arithmetic. A Catholic service did not edify him.

GENOA, June 9th, 1851.

MY DEAR S, — One part of the labors of the day have been to visit some royal palaces, in which are garnered many choice paintings by the old masters, and one or two churches of some monstrous claims and considerable interest.

The palace first visited was that of Balbi. This, like those hereinafter named, is not marked by anything remarkable in external position, but is entered from a narrow street through a paved gateway into a large court, and by stone stairway to the halls of art. Several of the floors were of rich and varied mosaic work, and must have cost an enormous sum. Among the most remarkable of the pictures are the Conversion of St. Paul, by Michael Angelo, and a portrait of Titian by himself. In the garden of the palace, oranges and lemons were growing naturally.

We next visited the Palace Reale, the present royal residence, opened at present to strangers because the King is absent from the city. The front of this is nearly three hundred feet in length. Portraits by Rembrandt, Vandyke, Titian, and others, fill several halls, some of which have very great merit. The Magdalene, by Titian, claimed as an undoubted original; the Tribute Money, by Guercino, and the Woman taken in Adultery, by Procaccini, are beautifully expressive. Here was shown the chair of the throne, of black velvet with a golden frame, and surrounded by a golden railing; also the queen's boudoir, by which she passed from one story to another without the labor of ascending by the stairs. The floors of some of these rooms were of wood curiously wrought in different kinds into various octagonal figures enclosing squares, and these still others. A most delicious fruit, already ripe, was found here, called Nespola Japonica.

Besides these, we visited the Palace Dulazzo and Palace Rasso, both of which contained some excellent paintings. The difference between the French and Italian schools of

painting is very manifest, —the one light and flashy, the other dark and richly colored.

The Church of the Annunciation some two hundred feet long, richly gilt overhead, with a new front, made necessary by the ravages of the revolution of '48, was built some five hundred years ago, and is altogether one of the finest churches I have yet seen.

The Duomo, or Cathedral of St. Lorenzo, built in the eleventh century, is chiefly interesting from its chapel of St. John the Baptist, in a sarcophagus in which they profess to have the remains of that saint, and carry them in procession on public celebration of his nativity. No woman can enter this chapel save one day in a year. A lady of our company was obliged to stop without. In this church is also contained a very ancient, perhaps the most ancient piece of glass in the world, and long believed to be a single emerald. The deception, however, was at length discovered, and it is now known to be only glass; yet still interesting from its perfectness and antiquity. This we did not see; since the keys of the sacristy in which it is kept are in the hands of the municipal authorities.

At five o'clock we dined at the table d'hôte, where we met some thirty or forty strangers. As this may be considered a good sample of that class of dinners, I will briefly describe it. It consisted of thirteen courses besides the wines, with a change of plates at each course. The first was soup. The second, fish and potatoes, with fresh lemon sliced thereon, for a relisher. Lemons grow here in abundance. The third was beef roast and carrots. The fourth, mutton and another kind of sauce. The fifth, chickens and green peas. The sixth, tongue, mutton, and sauce. The seventh, pigeon and salad in oil. The eighth, stringed beans alone. The ninth, cherry pie and charlotte russe. The tenth, cheese. The eleventh, cake. The twelfth, raisins and red cherries. The thirteenth, strawberries and sugar. The fourteenth, oranges. On enumerating them I find they hold out one more course

than I promised. We sat at the table about an hour and a quarter.

Leaving the tables, we followed our commissaire to a public promenade, where the people were assembled in great numbers, and music — and that which was very good — was discoursed by an excellent band. Everything was orderly, cheerful, and interesting. An object of no little interest was a marchioness, not only rich but handsome. For aught I could see, there was as much grace, as much taste, as much politeness as, and more character than in Paris.

June 10th. Morning dull, inclined to rain — almost the first day of the kind since leaving the Atlantic; quite the first since leaving London. Bought a couple of articles of silver filigree work, as mementos of Genoa, within a short distance of the birthplace of Columbus.

I entered a church this morning over the door of which was the Catholic policy inscribed without disguise — “*Indulgentia plenaria quotidiana perpetua*” — which may be interpreted, “Full indulgence every day forever.” The churches are internally showy rather than rich, but all filled with the Catholic mummary. In the church named above were old men, women, and maidens, all doing penance, counting their beads or saying their prayers.

Genoa, remarkable for its high houses, narrow streets, and rich palaces, has many persons speaking French, very few speaking English.

Yours truly,

A. A. MINER.

Mr. Miner fills the bulk of two letters in describing the wonders of Pisa, — the Leaning Tower, the Cathedral within which Galileo got a hint that has been of service ever since, the strange burial-place made in earth brought from Mount Calvary. There are also sketches of the voyage to Naples, — voyage, for forty

years ago there was no railway continuous between Genoa and Naples,—and of places made sacred by the feet of the Apostle to the Gentiles.

LEGHORN, June 11th, 1851.

MY DEAR WIFE,—Since filling my last sheet, I have visited Pisa, a city of about thirty thousand inhabitants, though it once had many more, situated some twelve miles from Leghorn. Leaving by the *strada ferrata* (railroad), at half-past 10 o'clock, we passed through a beautiful level but quite marshy country, in which, however, at intervals, fine crops were growing, the vine trailing from tree to tree in festoons, and the haymaking under full headway, and, proceeding in nearly a northern direction, reached Pisa at 11 o'clock.

The first thing that caught our eye was the fair in Pisa, of which the selling of cattle and horses constituted the chief feature, varied, however, by the sale of a great variety of ordinary articles. More interesting than the fair was the style of carriages used by the common people, and the mode of harnessing thereto. The carriages are a small two-wheeled sort of a cart, sometimes with springs to the body, and though the wheels are no more than ordinary height, the thills are so attached to a kind of saddle as to raise them above the asses' backs.

Pisa is situated on the river Arno, the streets on either side of which are called "Lungarni," and is adorned with many palaces, some of which are in partial decay, some devoted to other purposes, and some still remain. Among these palaces is the ancient residence of San Ranieri near the Tower, who though very profligate during the greater part of his life, shrewdly repented previous to his death, and distinguished himself as the benefactor and friend of the poor. After his death, which took place in 1356, he became the patron saint of Pisa. The festival in honor of him is kept at Pisa every third year, on the 16th of June, when nearly the whole town

is illuminated, and especially the Lungarni with all the principal buildings. This being the year of celebration, we had the pleasure of seeing the preparation already far advanced for the illumination. A kind of wooden frame-work, in various devices and figures, in which were inserted wires for the support of lamps, covered the entire front of buildings, bridges, and sometimes entire streets. This feast is kept as a kind of national jubilee, and is said to be scarcely equalled by anything of the kind in Italy.

The four great objects of interest at Pisa are close together; and the chief among them is the Campanile, or Bell Tower; or, as it is commonly called, the Leaning Tower. It is 50 ft. in diameter, 178 ft. high, and leans from the perpendicular 18 feet. It consists of eight stories of galleries on the outer side, and the top of it is reached by 330 steps passing between the outer and inner wall. The tower is but an appendage to the cathedral, which stands near it, and supports seven bells, of which the largest weighs 12,000 lbs. and is placed on the side of the tower, to counteract, as far as is possible, the tendency to fall. There can be no doubt, the assertions of the Pisans to the contrary notwithstanding, that the decline of the tower from the perpendicular is to be attributed to defect in the foundation. From an inspection of the tower itself, it is manifest that the defect began to appear before the tower was completed; and an insertion of longer columns on one side some half-way up, to bring it to a level again, as also of iron bars to prevent the stones from sliding upon each other, show that the builder became conscious of the defect before the work was completed. There is additional proof of this view of the matter in the fact that the walls of the cathedral, to which this tower is an appendage, are not perpendicular, but have suffered from a like defect. The tower, however, stands sufficiently firm, as it is manifest to the eye that the centre of gravity falls far within the base.

Though less celebrated in the United States, the Cathedral

of Pisa is an object of scarcely less interest than the tower. It is an edifice in the form of a Latin cross, of which the greater length is 311 ft., and the length of the transept 237 ft. The apex of the roof is 112 ft. high. The nave and transepts are gilded overhead, hung around by elaborate and numerous paintings, and in the choir back of the altar is a gigantic figure of our Lord, with St. John and the Virgin Mary on either hand, done in mosaic on a gold ground.

Suspended from the apex of the ceiling is a chandelier, which, when set in motion, owing to the great length of the cord of suspension, vibrates for a long time. It is said, and I suppose with truth, that this is the very object which suggested to Galileo the application of the pendulum to the measurement of time.

Near the cathedral, on the other side from the tower, that is, on the west, is the Baptistery, another appendage of the cathedral. Its cupola is 102 ft. above the pavement, and it is an ornamental building, circular in form, 100 ft. in diameter within the walls, and surmounted by a double dome, an outer and an inner one. In the centre stands the baptismal font, with four small marble fonts at the four angles. It contains the usual profusion of sculptures, bas-reliefs, etc. The full height of this edifice is 179 ft. I think these three edifices, with a fourth, the Campo Santo, or holy field, belonging to the same as a burial place, and which I will describe in my next, possess an interest which we shall rarely find excelled.

Yours in love,

A. A. MINER.

CIVITA VECCHIA, June 12th, 1851.

MY DEAR WIFE, — The Campo Santo, or holy field, at Pisa, remains to be described. It is situated directly in the rear of the Cathedral, to which it serves as an illustrious burying place. It consists of a row of buildings, or sheds

they might be called, enclosing the four sides of an open square court. The outer wall of these sheds is entire; but next the court they are open, save a mere partition which rises part way to the roof. Within this court is a quantity of earth which is said to have been brought in fifty-three ships from Jerusalem, and to possess the remarkable property of dissolving human bodies in twenty-four hours. In a series of paintings on the inner wall of the Campo Santo, this fact is illustrated by showing first the newly deceased body, then the same in partial decay, and lastly the same reduced to a skeleton. The inside of the wall of this edifice is covered with various devices, bas-reliefs, etc., among which is a painting of the Last Judgment, by Andrea. The painter seems disposed to satirize the church; for he places not a few priests, monks, and supposed saints, among the damned, and not a few whom the church had damned, among the blessed.

St. Ranieri, the patron saint of Pisa, of whom I have spoken, is made the subject also of many pieces. His call from the company of dancing females and scenes of dissipation, his progress as a pilgrim, his embarking for the Holy Land, his temptations in Palestine, his distribution of alms after his return, his death and burial, and the miracles he wrought after his death, — these are among the illustrations of this sacred place.

Here, too, are garnered relics, sarcophagi, and treasures, from Rome, all which have been brought hither to enrich the Campo Santo. This burial place has comparatively few pieces of statuary, and those mostly of modern times. It was founded by Archbishop Ubaldo in the close of the twelfth century, who brought the earth spoken of from Mount Calvary. The building surrounding the court was not erected till nearly a century afterwards. The Cathedral was built something like a century before the Campanile. The Baptistry was begun some forty years after the Cathedral was finished. These four edifices, which bear a relation to each other, were all

erected between A. D. 1067 and A. D. 1463. All but the Campo Santo, however, were finished a century or two earlier than the latter date.

Returning from Pisa, we again embarked, and by five o'clock P. M. were on our way to this place, Civita Vecchia, where we arrived at about half-past 7 o'clock this morning. As there is nothing here of especial interest, the passengers mainly remain on board; and I have spent the day thus far in writing. Our last night's trip, I suppose, was one hundred and twenty-five to one hundred and forty miles.

Of the character of the Italians I am yet unqualified to speak. I have learned, however, that the boatmen about the quays are no better than the cabmen of the Athens of America. At Genoa we had a view of a boatload of convicts dressed in red coats and caps; those who had committed the higher crimes having some other color mingled with the red in the cap. These convicts are worked in companies about town. Capital punishment has been abolished; with what result is not yet known.

At Pisa, when a criminal is executed, the finest toned bell in the Campanile is rung, as a fitting intimation to the prisoner, as the sweet music rolls down upon him, that there is mercy above for him, if not on earth. I cannot suppose, however, that those who sustain this custom have any such intent. It is half-past 1 o'clock P. M., and the "Ercolano" is again on her way for Naples, some one hundred and ninety miles distant.

June 18th. Arrived in the Bay of Naples at daybreak, and sailed up to the city between that and sunrise; through the grace of officials, however, we were not permitted to land till half past 7 o'clock. The Bay of Naples, from the city to the island of Capri, south, is about thirty miles wide. It opens southwesterly; but the city lies upon a semicircular slope, facing the south. East of the city twelve miles, but in full view, is Vesuvius; and just east or southeast of Vesuvius is the disintombed Pompeii, while nearly opposite to Pompeii,

or southwest of Vesuvius, under what is now called Portici, between it and the bay, is Herculaneum.

North and west of Naples is a range of hills, separating it from Puzzoli, the ancient Puteoli, five miles distant, to the south of which are the islands Procida and Ischia. It was at Puteoli, now Puzzoli, that St. Paul landed when, on his way to Rome, he met his friends at Appii Forum, or the three taverns. The remains of the bridge, the ancient landing-place, are still shown, and the Appian Way is still travelled. At Puzzoli are the remains of the Temple of Jupiter Serapis, Temple of Neptune, and of an ancient amphitheatre for gladiatorial sports. It has a subterranean portion where were cages for the beasts, and openings, then covered with gratings, through which they were admitted up into the arena. The gladiators who met them came up from another direction. The seats in an elliptical form rose one above another, to the number of thirty or more; and the whole space would accommodate some forty thousand persons. The amphitheatre at Nîmes is similar, but in a better state of preservation.

Two or three miles farther west we find Lake Avernus, small; and near it the Sibyls' cave — a narrow passage cut through a hill in the solid rock some eighty rods, connected with which are several chambers, now filled with water, once bathing rooms of the sibyls, where, from other small rooms adjoining, Nero and others caught stealthy glances of superhuman beauty. The remainder in my next.

Yours etc.,

A. A. M.

Between Gaeta and Naples is a region studded with sites of Roman cities — now ruins — of the early days of the Roman Empire, associated with the names of Cæsar, Nero, Caligula, and Virgil, particularly the tomb of Virgil, in visiting which Mr. Miner showed

the agility and endurance of an athlete with the painstaking examination of a scientist, crowding four letters with such a variety and amplitude of details that they would well serve as a directory for the tourist. How hard and how persistently did the semi-invalid toil in search of "rest" and recuperation!

NAPLES, June 13th, 1851.

MY DEAR WIFE, — Our passage into the Sibyls' cave was lighted by long candles, six feet or more in length, made of tallow, rosin, and hemp, and into the chambers where was the water, we were carried by men upon their backs, and placed upon elevations at the sides above the water. The resinous smoke made our appearance on our exit quite interesting.

From this, a little farther westerly, we ascended a hill a little distance, and entered Nero's baths — chambers cut in solid rock, with passages leading off into the mountain, from one of which a strong current of hot air issued, — so hot that one unaccustomed to it could with difficulty enter even a few feet. Into this a man entered, in entire nudity, save a ragged pair of pants, and descending some ninety feet into the mountain, brought up a pail of hot water, in which an egg was sufficiently cooked before his return. The perspiration rolled off from him, and he panted for breath in a manner which showed that *he*, at least, had earned his money; for all these places have functionaries who gather spoils from the multitudes who go to see them.

A little farther on, we passed the ruins of the temple of Diana, in the form of a dome, a part of which only remains; then the remains of the temple of Mercury, two adjacent circular enclosures, remarkable for their echoes; and the remains of the temple of Venus, a single circular enclosure. A little to the west, and on a side hill, we entered Venus' chambers and baths, like the others mentioned cut out of a rock, and

much ornamented with bas-reliefs, etc. These were appendages to the temple of Venus, and took their name accordingly. On the contrary, Nero's baths may have been used by Nero himself; as the Sibyl's cave was doubtless frequented by those women who uttered their oracles in the temple of Apollo, on the opposite side of Lake Avernus. Their answers to those who came to consult them were written on leaves (hence "sibylline leaves"), then, the doors opening, a strong wind would throw them into confusion. The inquirer must then find his answer by a correct arrangement of these leaves, a part of it being on each. (See the 6th Book of Virgil.)

A little farther on, we came to the prisons of Nero, a hundred chambers cut in the solid rock, from which there is a passage leading out to the cliff overhanging the sea. Here those who were condemned to death were cast down into the sea. The prisons are the very perfection of gloom.

Just out upon the point of land bordering upon Port Julian, a name given to Baiæ Bay, are the remains of an ancient reservoir underground, a natural cave improved by art, the covering or top of which is supported by many columns. From this reservoir which was supplied by an aqueduct from some of the distant mountains, the ships in the Julian port obtained water for their voyages.

Near this place is the modern Baccoli, where one is shown the Styx (*a* Styx, not the Grecian and original one), and near it the Elysian Fields, "Cæsar's villa," and the tomb of Agrippina.

Returning to Puzzoli, and leaving the path to Naples on our right, we come to Lake Agnano, three miles in circumference, said to have been a volcano, and now evidently connected with the volcanic region which underlies this whole neighborhood, embracing an area fifteen to twenty miles in diameter. Carbonic acid gas bubbles up upon its borders, and it sometimes falls ten or twelve feet suddenly during an eruption of Vesuvius, though fifteen to twenty miles distant.

The water is fresh to the depth of forty-two feet, and the remaining six feet salt. Near by is the Grotto du Chien (Dog Grotto), where the carbonic acid near the bottom, when the door is open even (for it is very small), is quite perceptible to the senses, and puts out lights instantly, and kills the dog dragged in for experiment, if not drawn out as soon as he faints. This effect extends to the height of a foot or so from the floor. A pistol held near the ground cannot be fired. It is about ten feet high.

In the same neighborhood are the baths of vapor of San Germano. Ammoniacal gas and sulphuretted hydrogen are abundant here, accompanied with very considerable heat—at the places whence they issue, too great to be borne. Here, too, are the remains of the baths and palace of Lucullus, nearly obliterated. These last mentioned objects all border on Lake Agnano, which is about a mile in circumference, and down to which snakes, black and green, six feet in length, come from the mountains to sport and drink.

Between Puzzoli, which has some ten or twelve thousand inhabitants, and Naples, there is a range of hills perforated in two places, or tunnelled, as we should say, for highways. These tunnels are very ancient—like most of these ruins, the work of the old Romans, and dating back to the Christian era. One of them, the Grotto of Pauselipo, through which I passed, is more than a third of a mile in length, some thirty feet wide, and mostly fifty feet high. It is cut higher at the ends than in the middle, which helps remarkably in lighting it. Directly above the entrance on the Naples side is the tomb of the immortal Virgil.

Yours etc.

A. A. MINER.

NAPLES, June 14th, 1851.

MY DEAR WIFE,—Finishing first the tour of yesterday, I must mention Cape Mysena, where was made a peace between

Octavius and Antony on the one side, and Sextus and Pompey on the other; also a mountain to the north, Monte Barbaro, where grow the grapes out of which is manufactured the "Falerian wine," so much sung by the poets. At Baiæ, now Baccola, was once the residence of Pompey, Sylla, Marius, Cæsar and Nero, all of whom here had superb palaces, as did also many of the more distinguished ancient Romans. It was here that the triumvirate of Cæsar, Lepidus and Antony was formed, and where the Emperor Hadrian died. Cape Mysena is called the Cape of Grief, since from that point Pliny set out to view an eruption of Vesuvius and lost his life. The whole neighborhood, in fact, is rich in historical interest. But greater interest of observation gathers around our excursion to Vesuvius.

Having slept scarce an hour last night, we set out at midnight, with a carriage, driver, guide, three companions, refreshments, and a beautiful full moon, for Vesuvius. Stopping at Portici, five miles from Naples, each mounted a horse (one of which fell in going the first hundred rods and threw his rider) and rode about seven miles, much of it in a narrow, zig-zag, and extremely irregular path amid rough ragged lava, to the foot of the cone, in the top of which is the crater. Here, dismounting, we made an ascent, perhaps 1,000 ft., by the hardest of labor, on the part where the lava had rolled down. All the rest of the company were soon glad to accept the aid of mendicants who for two carlines a piece, about 16 cents, were ready to lend a hand in pulling them up the steep ascent. Tho' unaided, I gained the summit first of all, and in season to see a glorious sunrise. Passing to the new crater, some 1,000 ft. in diameter, and 1,200 ft. deep, 800 of which is visible, we found the streams of hot vapor issuing beneath our feet in a thousand places, and very abundant from the centre of the crater itself. It consisted very much, I should judge, of sulphurous acid gas, and sulphuretted hydrogen gas, and when wafted by a gentle breeze toward us

(for it was a very still morning), it almost suffocated us. In a small opening at our feet, which served as our cooking furnace, we roasted some eggs to help make up our morning repast, and found to our sorrow that, not knowing precisely the power of our apparatus, we had roasted them too much.

Having gathered some hot specimens of lava with our own hands, we visited the old and somewhat smaller crater, which has been in action heretofore, and which bursting out a year or two since, destroyed two persons, one an American and one a German, on the spot, and buried eleven others as they were hastily escaping down the hill. Our guide, who was with the party, by hasty but careful flight, saved a young lady from sharing the same dreadful fate. Here we could look down upon Pompeii, and upon the black lava which covers the space where was a village two years ago. Indeed, the entire mountain is surrounded by villas, any one of which is liable to be destroyed at any time.

Having feasted our eyes upon the magnificent view around us, we made our descent a little to the right of the line of our ascent, in light ashes and sand. The descent was rapid and easy. Remounting our horses, we retraced our steps for a time, then followed the new carriage path which has recently been constructed, back to Portici. Having taken some refreshments we here set out to Pompeii. Vegetation is found quite abundant half-way or more up the mountain, and the vine especially grows in luxuriance greater than we met with anywhere in France. The mulberry, apricots, plums, etc., were also found. Wine from this part is called "Lachrymæ Christi."

Setting forward in our carriage, we very soon halted in the midst of Portici, a town of some five or six thousands of inhabitants, and descending some thirty or forty steps, we came to a porter's lodge, who led us by an underground passage to a very long staircase, by which we descended into what was once a theatre of Herculaneum, many feet below the principal

street of the town of Portici. It was discovered by the sinking of a well for the contemplated palace of Prince d'Elbœuf, Emmanuel of Naples, and sufficient excavations have been already executed to bring to light all the different parts of that theatre. But for obvious reasons the work is not prosecuted. (See letter of June 15th.)

Passing on some six or eight miles in an easterly direction, we come to Pompeii, once on the sea, now three miles distant, buried barely above the tops of the houses, which, with one exception, were but a single story high, and with ashes instead of lava, as was Herculaneum. Consequently the excavation was comparatively easy. Here have been identified, by various articles discovered, the principal edifices, and principal departments of the edifices of a large city. The king's residence, house of Sallust, basilica, theatres, whole lines of streets, hotels, storehouses for wines, barbers' shops, fountains richly ornamented, baths amply constructed, houses of Polybius, Caius Priscus, of Venus and Mars, Giulia Felice, temple of Neptune, etc., etc. Fifty acres have been disinterred and much remains to be done. Returned to our hotel very tired at half-past 2 o'clock.

Yours, etc.,

A. A. MINER.

NAPLES, June 15th, 1851.

MY DEAR WIFE, — On each side of the street leading to the catacombs is a long block of houses for the poor; for old men who do the mourning in funeral processions on the one side, and for young girls who are left destitute on the other.

From the catacombs we went to the new cemetery, beautiful in itself, and commanding a view of beautiful scenery. The garden-like region around Naples, the volcano and its environs with the bay, make a rare panorama. The cemetery contains about forty acres only, and has in itself no natural beauties

comparing with Greenwood or Mount Auburn. It contains many private chapels, leased of government, and many chapels owned by churches. These are edifices with places in the centre where bodies are deposited for a time, men remaining fifteen months, children seven months, when they are removed to a common receptacle. Around the building on the inner side are many niches in which men may for \$60 buy a permanent place for themselves. These privileges are gained by paying to the church three carlines a month for one's self and family; with the additional guaranty that at death, lights, gilded coffin, a pall for it on the funeral occasion which cost \$2,000, a procession of forty men in white for the funeral, a high mass the day after, and forty common masses, at the rate of from four a day to four a month, as friends choose to have them, a record being kept of the number, and the soul for which they are said. This guaranty includes also a physician furnished by the church in case of sickness, with fifty cents for medicines per day for the first fortnight, and a few cents afterwards. The church pays the doctor \$70 per month.

There is one large enclosure, in which are 188 openings through the pavement into vaults, one of which is opened for every two days in the year, and into which all the dead brought are thrown together, at an expense of \$5. In private places, bodies can be buried by payment of \$15 and remain fifteen months, when they are removed. Those who have no money, and have made no payment to the church, are carried to the old burying-place, and thrown in without coffins with all others dying the same day, lime being thrown on them to consume them as soon as possible. This place is then closed for one year, and another opened for the next day.

This cemetery was opened fifteen years ago, and is kept in order by forty laborers, who dig the graves also, and bring the bodies. The unhealthiness of burying in the churches in the time of the cholera was the immediate cause of its being opened. In Naples those who die without money or a church

insurance are buried without coffins, and haste to their elemental state without the aid of worms.

June 16th. At 6 o'clock A. M. made a visit to Virgil's tomb; his remains, however, have been removed to Rome. It is situated on a high bluff directly over the entrance on the Naples side to the Grotto of Pauselipo. The ascent to it is not direct, but from another quarter, up a very steep bluff, by a zigzag course, the street gaining no more than its width at every turn of every ten or fifteen rods. At length you enter by an old wooden gate through an arch, into a garden of vines and fruits, and come to a point fifteen to twenty feet above the tomb whence you descend to the tomb itself. It is situated on a projecting point upon the steep side hill where anciently was a burying-place, the signs of which are mostly obliterated, but where there are a very few, perhaps half a dozen, modern graves.

Virgil's tomb is an ancient stone building some fifteen feet square, with an elliptical or nearly flat roof, on which has accumulated much soil fruitful of bushes and of weeds. From among these, a sprig of ilex was gathered as a relic — a kind of ivy whose praises the Latin poets were wont to sing.

Till the year 1840, no other testimony of affectionate or grateful remembrance marked the spot where had been deposited Virgil's remains. Now a plain marble slab bears this inscription: —

"P. Virgilio Maroni. Mantua me genuit, Calabri rapuere, tenet nunc Parthenope. Cecini Pascua, Rura, Duces, 1840.

"Consacré au prince des poètes latins, par F. G. Eichhoff, bibliothécaire de S. M. la Reine des Français."

After breakfast, we visited the "Museo Borbonico,"¹ where are gathered the treasures of Pompeii, of Herculaneum, a half-dozen acres of which have been excavated, but again filled up, save the theatre, for the safety of the city, of Nola, of Staba, and several other places, including the Eternal City itself.

¹ Now called "Museo Nazionale."

The entire history of those ruined cities might be written, has been written, from these remains. A view of these is a view of the internal arrangement of these cities as they were in the days of their calamity.

Here are paintings from the walls of the disintombed cities, mostly on marble, to the number of more than two thousand; a great number of statues, among which are equestrian statues of Balbus, father and son, Bacchus, Apollo, Aristides, etc.; some two thousand rolls of carbonized papyrus from Herculaneum; beautiful mosaics, making the floors of several rooms; a collection of utensils and other objects of bronze and of iron, such as kettles, spiders, skillets, water vessels, stoves, kitchen ranges, steelyards, waffle irons, images, chandeliers, lanterns, bathing tubs, military armor, bell, inkstand, surgeons' instruments, among which are instruments for pulling teeth, fish-hooks, metallic tickets for theatres, dice, plates, prison stocks, hinges, locks, axes, hoes, etc., etc., to the number of from fifteen to twenty thousand. Here, too, is the jewelry of the wife of Diomedes, King of Pompeii, whose palace has been identified. (See next letter.)

Yours in love,

A. A. MINER.

NAPLES, June 16th, 1851.

MY DEAR WIFE, — In addition to the relics from Pompeii, etc., mentioned in my last, there were paints of various colors; apothecaries' scales, and two jars of balsam, still retaining the flavor, from his shop; grains, fruits, and sweet-meats petrified. Some portions of the bones of the wife of Diomedes, alabaster vases, asbestos safe from the fire, a large collection of Egyptian and other antique vases, with a great variety of objects scarcely admitting of classification, are gathered here. Indeed, it is in this museum that one sees those ancient cities. Preserved for two thousand years, they have

come forth at length to tell of the science, the arts, the taste, and the social life of those who had garnered them.

The museum is also rich in statuary, paintings, and relics, from other sources. Statues of the old Roman and Grecian philosophers, kings, and fabled characters; an immense vase of porphyry in a single piece, some six or eight feet in diameter, and holding some hogsheads; a lock of the old aqueduct still containing water; a painting of the monks praying to be delivered from the second visitation of the cholera, one of their number deceased bearing the petition to the Holy Virgin; and other things too numerous to mention.

Besides, it has a library of from 150,000 to 200,000 volumes. Some of the churches also have considerable libraries. But it must not be inferred that the indolent Neapolitans are a reading people. Of this there are no manifestations. They are the farthest removed from civilization, as regards the masses, of any people I have yet seen. With 450,000 inhabitants, of dark complexion and squalid filthy look, it has the arts and customs of centuries gone by. The women, especially of the middle and lower classes, go barehead, with wooden sandals without stockings, or barefoot entirely, and perform much outdoor labor. They are everywhere seen with their donkeys going to market, conveying large bundles of clothes, or, in common with men, loading them with hay, straw, manure, wood, coal, etc., to an almost incredible extent. I saw hundreds of women spinning tow and flax, with their distaff and spool, probably as in Solomon's time.

The very few horses used in Naples, as well as in the rest of Italy, are small, poor and ill-fed. One often sees a horse and an ass or donkey, an ox and a donkey, two and three asses or donkeys, side by side, attached to very singularly and awkwardly constructed carts or drays; and sometimes one finds himself convulsed with laughter at seeing a great fat priest astride a very small donkey, and a brawny lazzarino on foot behind whipping him along.

For beggary, Naples is unsurpassed. We could scarcely enter our carriage that we were not surrounded by them. From six to thirty at a time, and young girls among them, running by the side of the carriage a mile together in a cloud of dust and under a scorching sun, and still refusing any other Italian coin even than that belonging to the Neapolitan kingdom. Porters, boatmen, carriage drivers, hostlers, everybody in fact that you see—demands a franc to buy drink. By the police officers, custom house officers, consuls and ministers of State, as well as by thieves by profession, you are fleeced at every step.

Externally, the city looks somewhat inviting. Its architecture is mainly Grecian, and the inhabitants have more of the Grecian than the Roman look. But with all its external beauty and objects of interest; though its streets are paved with lava, and its halls of science filled with works of art (among which is a bust of Aratus, the Athenian poet whom Paul quoted); though Cæsar and the sibyls have trodden its soil, yet the rapacity of the people, and of the insects, and the drones of lizards, prepare one to depart with pleasure. We left for Civita Vecchia by steamer at 5 o'clock P.M., and enjoyed a most beautiful view of Naples, Vesuvius, etc., as we passed out the bay.

June 17th. Arrived at Civita Vecchia at half-past 8 o'clock, took breakfast, hired a private post, with three horses and driver, changing three times before reaching Rome, paid seven francs on our passports each, and departed for Rome, 48 miles distant, at 11 o'clock A.M., convinced that Civita Vecchia was no better than Naples. The post rider sits upon the nigh-wheel horse, with long boots and spurs, leads the off horse, and drives the forward one with ropes for leading lines. We paid 64 francs for our four tickets, and were then expected to give three or four francs to each postilion, of whom there were four, to purchase liquor, as a means of securing a quick ride. The first post being driven slowly,

we refused part payment, and passed the remainder of the distance at good speed, arriving at Rome at half-past 7 o'clock. The payment of ten francs to the police, and three to the last postilion, saved us from going to the custom house, and brought us to Spillman's Hotel, via della Croce.

Civita Vecchia is the port of Rome, and owes its importance to that circumstance. It has six or seven thousand inhabitants, and is remarkable for its prison, which contains commonly 1,200 convicts. It is, however, equally remarkable for its rapacity, ignorance, and abuse of travellers. One of our companions, Mr. Nehemiah Cleaveland, of New York, was deprived of a pamphlet containing an address before the New England Society, the purport of which they could not understand.

A. A. MINER.

Two letters literally mass particulars of Rome, — the Vatican and its galleries of specimens of ancient art; the arches; the wonderful Coliseum; the greatest of Catholic parades, — the Fête of Corpus Domini; the Pope as he appeared in the procession; the ascent to the top of St. Peter's. And again those who knew him and the limitations of his strength will be amazed at Mr. Miner's achievements.

ROME, June 19th, 1851.

MY DEAR WIFE, — Leaving St. Peter's yesterday, we entered the Vatican, the residence of the Pope. In its galleries of pictures and of statues, we saw some of the finest works of the celebrated masters, and many relics from the buried portions of the city, tombs, and palaces. Among the statuary, the Laocœon, the sleeping Ariadne, the Genius of the Vatican, the Apollo of Praxiteles, are most noticeable. Among paintings, Raphael's and Michael Angelo's are unrivalled. Domenichino, Guido, Titian, meet us in their

unrivalled works, not only here but in other places where genius is treasured in its works. The Column and Forum of Trajan next claimed our attention ; then Nero's Golden House, which, like other ancient edifices, has been spoiled for the erection of modern palaces for cardinals and others. The Coliseum, one of the grandest remains of antiquity, founded in A. D. 72, would accommodate eighty-seven thousand persons. It is now in ruins. Arch of Constantine, Arch of Titus, Roman Forum, and the Pantheon, in which rest the remains of Raphael, finished the day.

The Pantheon is used as a church ; service by some five-and-twenty priests, without a dozen spectators, was being performed as we entered. The place was unattractive, and the filth showed that human beings resort thither for other purposes than devotion.

This morning we repaired early to the Colonnade of St. Peter to witness the procession of the Grand Fête, called *Corpus Domini*, instituted in commemoration of the miracle by which blood was made to flow from the host consecrated by a doubting Bohemian priest, thereby removing his doubts touching the reality of transubstantiation. This is one of the great fêtes of the Church, and we were particularly fortunate in being in Rome at such a time.

It consists mainly of a sacred procession, in which all the ecclesiastics of the city, the civil authorities, the Pope himself, and the military, take their places. The procession moves from the church, or Vatican near it, down the north colonnade, round through the south colonnade into the church. A large body of military filled the square, a few preceded the procession, and considerable numbers of troops and foot followed the Pope.

'Mid the ringing of the bells of the city, the procession moved on, first, a few soldiers ; then boys of several ecclesiastical foundations or schools, in double file, but somewhat apart from each other ; then came the Capuchins, followed by

the boys of other colleges, by monks and friars of various orders, priests from the seminaries, curates of Rome, one hundred and twenty in number, canons of St. Peter's, the seven Basilicas of Rome, the prelates, musicians of St. Peter's, college boys of St. Peter's, Pope's servants, and criminal judges; then one of each religious order, the Pope's crown, and other crowns following, making the "triple crown," advocates for the consistory, the Pope's musicians, bishops, Greek Arminians, Cardinals, Secretary of State, Roman Senators;—and then the Pope himself, borne on the shoulders of twelve men, exclusive of as many more who supported the canopy and carried various golden ensigns, crosses, etc. around him, while he was so seated by an immense and gilded altar (gilded drapery) as to appear to be kneeling before the host placed thereon. His eyes were fixed constantly upon it in rapt devotion. He was followed by the military, mostly French, under the French general, Gemeau.

The number of the procession would be nearly two thousand, and it moved so slowly as to be nearly two hours in passing a given point. When the Pope left his palace, the bell of St. Peter's began to ring, cannons were fired, and martial music with the bells of Rome furnished a supply of that kind of music. But this was by no means all the music. Most of the procession kept up a reading of prayers (I suppose), or a singing of them, and with their heads shaved in various styles, and with their candles from two to six feet long, and from one to three columned, and some even four columned, they presented a dismal scene. The first portion were dressed after the simpler style of Roman ecclesiastics, with their long skirted coats falling to their feet, belt with cross and beads, and the boys with white handkerchief and shoes; but many of the friars without any neck dress, and mere sandals of wood often upon their feet. Many of these were vile looking men. The State prisons could hardly furnish a parallel.

The priests, curates, bishops, and cardinals, with their hats,

wore over their usual clerical dress, — which, however, in case of the cardinals, gave place to a more showy garb, — a tunic of white muslin, I should think ; and those worn by cardinals and dignitaries were very highly wrought. The several sections or orders in the procession were distinguished by elegant banners with their respective inscriptions. The insignia of the Basilicæ was not unlike a huge umbrella, with the cloth orange and dark, in alternate strips. Abating the friars and monks, the whole procession was showy, and is perhaps exceeded in this respect by no procession during the year.

Yours truly,

A. A. MINER.

ROME, June 19th, 1851.

MY DEAR WIFE, — The procession having passed, we hastened into the church, where the Pope passed us again within a few feet on his way to the chief altar, still borne upon men's shoulders ; and after the service, which consisted in the chanting of a prayer and the elevation of the host by the Pope before all the people, lasting scarce fifteen minutes, he again passed out, this time walking, to his own palace by a covered way direct from the church. When the host was elevated, the whole congregation fell on their knees, and my companions, as if by magic, among the number. The Pope gone out, the show was ended — and the splendid *humbug* was finished.

The Pope is a very genial, good-looking man. No doubt he is a well-disposed man, and but for his weakness would do good. The French army here, though hated by the people, some seven hundred of whom they killed two years ago in seven hours, just behind St. Peter's, have the Pope entirely in their power, and have this day (20th) taken possession of the gates of the city, dismissing the Pope's soldiers altogether. All passports now go through their hands. This state of things will not probably last long ; but with what commotions it will pass away no man can say.

The show of Corpus Domini, having begun at about 8 o'clock A. M., and ended at half past 10, we visited the ruins of the portico of Cæcilius, the theatre of Marcellus, the Ponte Rotto, house of Rienzi, temple of Modesty, ditto of Vesta, — one of the first in Rome; though not the original temple of Vesta by Numa, it was one of many smaller ones after his plan, and is now used as a church — arches of Janus and of Septimus Severus; the Cloaca Maxima, or great sewer, large enough in some parts to take in a load of hay, and used after twenty-four centuries for its original purpose; palace of the Cæsars, with vineyard and garden above it, one hundred steps above the modern street at its base; baths of Caracalla, begun A. D. 212, once contained sixteen hundred marble seats for bathers, being one of the most magnificent and impressive of the ruins of Rome (Shelley wrote most of his "Prometheus Unbound" here); tomb of Scipio, with its solitary cypress, and tended by a most ignorant family, producing the strangest feeling by the contrast; the Colombarum, arch of the Druses, the Porte of St. Sebastian, the temple of Bacchus, now used as a church; the sacred wood, used in sacrifices, — a beautiful grove to the east of the city, — and the fountain of Egeria, where Numa held nightly consultations with his nymph. This fountain is a mere vaulted chamber, with one or two niches, situated in a pleasant valley at the foot of the hill on which stands the temple of Bacchus. After dinner we rode upon Monte Pincian, where is the public promenade, or public gardens; and then, passing out at Porte del Popolo, proceeded as far as Ponte Molle. Encountered here a beggar, of which Rome is full, in the shape of a man. Instantly I assumed the attitude and demeanor of a beggar, and applied to him. He scratched his head in astonishment, and was utterly non-plussed. Such a look of perplexity I never saw before.

June 20th. Ascended to the ball of St. Peter's. Horses and donkeys often ascend on to the roof of the main building to carry materials for repairs. Workshops of carpenters, etc.,

are put into the otherwise vacant corners, and some one hundred and fifty men employed in various modes about the building. From the base of the dome, which is about one-third of the whole height, the ascent becomes more difficult, though the whole ascent is easier than that of many buildings with half the height.

From the ball itself, which is some eight feet in diameter, nothing can be seen. Besides, at ten o'clock A. M. it was too hot to permit one's hand to rest on it, which made it difficult to remain in it beyond a few moments. This, of course, applies only to the metal of the ball on the side next the sun.

From the topmost point of view the scene is grand. The Monte Vaticano, on which the church is built, is some two hundred feet above the Tiber, and the ball is more than four hundred feet above the foundation. Looking to the east, you have the square of St. Peter's, the Tiber, and the entire city of Rome before you, with the Pope's palace, museums, and gardens on your left, and the Roman Inquisition, an unostentatious building, on your right. Skirting the horizon on the north and east are mountains, every peak of which is famous in history; at the southeast the Appian Way stretches off in a straight line for twenty or thirty miles; while on the south and southwest, at the distance of some fifteen or twenty miles is the sea. The whole space within is occupied by the Campagna, in the midst of which is Rome.

The Campagna appears luxuriant and beautiful beyond any conception of it I had previously formed. Even Rome itself, so dirty and uninviting when viewed in its streets, from this elevation is seen ornamented with so many domes and towers, temples and ancient ruins, that it becomes enchanting to the eye, if not captivating to the spirit. A New Englander longs to see the Tiber run a clear transparent river; but then it would no longer be emblematic of the troubled history of the past, of the threatening aspects of the present, or of the corrupt church whose seat is upon its banks.

A. A. M.

Again it is a voyage—back to “C. V.” (Civita Vecchia), the seaport of Rome, near the mouth of the Tiber, and then on to Leghorn Bay, and thence to beautiful Florence, with a goodly number of vexations and commissioners’ robberies by the way.

MEDITERRANEAN SEA, June 24, 1851.

MY DEAR MARIA,—All things being ready, we left Rome yesterday at three o’clock P.M. from our hotel; were detained some half an hour at the gates for our passports, and then proceeded toward Civita Vecchia, on our way to Florence, by Leghorn. We travelled by “post,” as it is called; that is, we hired at the diligence office our conveyance through to C. V. in the same coach, with three horses, ropes, postilions, spurs, liquor-money, and all, after the fashion before described in our passage from C. V. to Rome. The contractor said, however, we need pay nothing beyond our bill (65 francs), and that we should reach C. V. at ten o’clock. The first postilion driving very slow, we refused the liquor-money, when the second drove slower still, and we did not reach C. V. till one o’clock in the morning.

Being told by the hotel-keeper that the French steamer “L’Oronte” would sail at eight o’clock this morning, that it would be sufficiently early to go on board at half-past 7 o’clock, taking breakfast beforehand, we went to our rooms. Two of our party, in their haste to be asleep, went to bed without any sheets, to the no small amusement of the other two. At six o’clock, however, the commissioner was at our door thundering away for our passports, and asking to be authorized to buy our tickets for us, on the pretence that we must be on board at seven o’clock. When aboard, we found the landlord’s story true, and that the commissary had simply made for himself a job.

Leaving C. V. at eight o’clock, we were told that we should be in Leghorn at six o’clock this evening,—a distance of

some 125 miles. During the day, which, like every other since landing at Liverpool, has been pleasant, we have passed the islands of Giorgio, Elba, etc., and had a distant view of Corsica. Arrived at Leghorn at eight o'clock this evening. Immediately there came on board some lackeys of the government, who told us we could not go on shore till morning, because the custom-house is closed, and the police also gone from their offices. It would amuse you to see the sour faces, the wry looks, and the threatening aspect of everything around us. Though told that we shall go ashore at half-past 4 o'clock to-morrow morning, and that no cars leave for Florence before half-past 9, yet some strongly suspect that we shall not get on shore till 7 o'clock, and that the first train goes at half-past 6. However, we shall see. In the meantime, I will take a glass of lemonade and go to bed.

June 25th, Hôtel du Nord, at Leghorn. As we feared. We landed at six o'clock, but were very coolly told we could not have our passports until nine, and then only by paying four and a half francs, though we paid that bill on them two weeks ago here. The earliest train we shall be enabled to take for Florence will be half-past 10 o'clock. However, we have secured a moderate breakfast for about four pauls (equal to about fifty cents), and are awaiting our fate with the spirit of incensed martyrs. One of our party, in the meantime (Mr. Nehemiah Cleaveland, of Brooklyn, N. Y.), has perpetrated the following on the pages of the records of the hotel:—

“Five strangers from a foreign shore
Took breakfast at ‘Hôtel du Nord’;
Our names, which may be found below,
Our homes and destination show.
We’ve had our trials and vexations,—
Delayed by Tuscan regulations,
Taxed, cheated, foiled, at every stage,
Scarce can we contain our rage.
Patience! a few short weeks, and we
Shall hail a land of liberty.”

This was signed by —

“A. A. MINER, Boston, Mass., U. S. A.
D. C. EDDY, Lowell, Mass., U. S. A.
H. A. MILES, Lowell, Mass., U. S. A.
N. CLEAVELAND, Brooklyn, N. Y., U. S. A.
R. S. GRANT, Norfolk, Va., U. S. A.”

Vexatious as such delays are, we manage to make them yield us no little amusement. Besides, there are occurrences every now and then full of the most amusing matter. For example, as we sat on the deck of the steamer yesterday, Mr. Miles and myself looked up and saw Mr. Cleaveland asleep in his chair, a book all but toppling from his hand, a piece of paper had fallen upon his lap, and his pencil stuck with its point in the deck bolt upright. I seized pencil and paper to sketch the figure, when, unfortunately, the strength of my purpose de-magnetized him, and he awoke. So the arts have lost that picture.

These vexations serve very well to manifest the temper of the steel these blades are made of. They all, however, prove to be very good, and to have nearly equal spring and elasticity. Just now Mr. Miles is creating a great laugh by offering some Roman coin which he has in his pocket to the hotel-keeper, who refuses it, on the ground that he does not like the Pope's money.

Yours, in good spirits and with love,

A. A. MINER.

Mr. Miner's passion to particularize never deserts him, as in the description of the Cathedral and Campanile of Florence, the American cemetery, the birth-place of Dante and Americus Vespucius; but the later letters are less affluent in description, the tourist possibly getting weary of the task.

FLORENCE, June 28, 1851.

MY DEAR WIFE, — Leaving the Laurentian Library, we came to the “Spezieria of Santa Maria Novella,” an establishment for the distillation and manufacture of the very nicest perfumery, essences, balsams, &c. by the Dominican friars connected with Santa Maria Novella. A smart thunder-shower arising, the first since we landed in Europe, we retreated to our hotel. After dinner we rode to the house in which Americus Vespucius lived, and in which one of his descendants, a woman, still lives; and also to that in which the divine poet Dante was born and spent the period of his youth. We also visited the place east of the cathedral where he was accustomed to seat himself and view the Campanile, by Giotto, — a square tower, rising with the same dimensions to the height of 275 feet, — and which Dante thought an unrivalled specimen of architecture. Near this seat of Dante, are two statues by Pampaloni, one of which seems to me to have very great merit, for its graceful, easy attitude, appropriate drapery, and open, frank, and intelligent countenance.

Thence we rode to the English cemetery, just without the Porta Pinti, a beautiful ground, with gravelled walks, flowers, cypress and other trees, and containing about two acres. It has been open some twenty years, and out of 450 foreigners buried there, three only are Americans. Most Americans dying in Florence are carried to their own country. There are many neat and tasteful monuments, and the place has great interest to an American who is far from friends and home, and remembers his weakness in the hands of the destroyer.

These thoughts were especially enforced by the funeral procession of an Austrian officer which passed under our window this afternoon. A soldier in advance carried the white crucifix, to which was attached the mourning badge; a priest in robes preceded the bier, which was borne by eight men; the sword and its scabbard were laid across each other

upon the coffin, and a wreath of flowers with a small cross was placed upon the head of the coffin. A solemn and mournful, but beautiful, dirge filled the whole air with funereal melody. The thought would come home to me, Why is not that dirge resounding over my unconscious remains?

This is Saturday night; and I think Florence improves on acquaintance, though quite homelike at first. It has too many dukes and ducal palaces — perhaps twenty or more — on the one hand; and too many beggars and priests and Austrian soldiers on the other. In the diligence office, this morning, I observed a score of women come in, one after another, each receiving from the man of the office a few crazie in money. On inquiry I learned that it is a custom on Saturday for all the principal business men to give a trifle to each of the whole tribe of beggars who call. Among the number, there came women with lottery tickets to sell. The latter fact may throw some light on the former. One little girl, who was leading a blind woman, complained that her pittance was so small; whereupon the man took it back, and sent her away without anything.

Florence produces the finest cherries I have ever seen; these with apricots, a fruit about midway between a plum and a peach, are on our table daily. There are many flowers also, some of which are done up into beautiful bouquets. In three instances, as our party have been passing the streets, women have come up and thrust flowers upon us, without money and without price.

I have this evening called at Dr. Lewis's residence, to offer to carry letters to Mr. Loring; but unfortunately he was out with his family. To-morrow evening we leave, probably, for Venice; though the accounts we receive of the feelings of the Austrians towards Americans, leading to the taking away of their books and papers, and in some instances to their arrest, has led us to hesitate. I think, however, we shall risk their ire and make them a visit.

Ten o'clock P. M., a letter from Dr. Lewis has just arrived, expressing regret that he was absent, and sending a line for Charles W. Moore, Esq., Boston, which I shall forward with pleasure.

Sunday, June 29. The day opens with as constant and intolerable a din as one often hears. The noise of marketmen crying their wares and provisions, and fruits, especially the latter, makes any further repose impossible. At breakfast we had a long discussion touching the disposition we should make of our manuscripts, as we should be quite unwilling to lose them, and yet shall be liable to have them taken from us, and, if found offensive, to be arrested ourselves, at Venice and Milan. Mr. Miles and Mr. Eddy have concluded to transmit theirs to Geneva, via Leghorn, Genoa, and Turin; while I, in accordance with my usual want of apprehension, have determined to risk mine in my own hands. I think the sense of justice, not to speak of generosity, among men, is so great, that no government will do us such a wrong. I wish to all governments the greatest of blessings, and shall take it for granted that I shall be personally safe in their hands, till disproved.

Yours,

A. A. M.

Three letters are given to Switzerland and the principal Italian lakes, and to the Simplon, the Jura mountains, the Gallery of Gondo, Domo d' Ossola, the Alps, Chamouni, and Mont Blanc.

GENEVA, July 7th, 1851.

DEAR MARIA, — In my last, which, however, was dated wrong, I informed you of my arrival at Geneva after fifty-six hours' continuous ride including four to six hours' halting in all, but did not speak to you of the glorious Alps. Before doing so I will *allude* only to a few other particulars. And, first, the road over the Simplon pass is, without exception, the best carriage road I ever saw. The roads in France, and

Italy, and Switzerland, and I presume in other European countries, are constructed and maintained by government, and are generally excellent. But the Simplon exceeds any others I have seen. It rises by the most gentle acclivities, except where it nears the summit, when it is somewhat steeper. It passes through gorges of the mountains, often terraced with well hewed stone to a great height, well flagged and protected with stone posts on the edges. It was built, as you are aware, by Napoleon, for the transportation of his cannon and army into Italy; and it was one of the grandest conceptions of his giant mind. It cost \$25,000 a mile. A good road in England costs about \$5,000 a mile.

At a distance of about forty miles from Milan we reached Lake Maggiore (the Great Lake), which is the great lake of Italy, being fifty-two miles long. The placidity of its waters, the beauty of portions of the shores, and the abrupt mountain cliffs which form the remainder, combine to make it a very beautiful lake, though it is less celebrated than the neighboring Lake Como. It is fed by the Ticino river, which we cross, at Sesto Calende, near Arona, into the Sardinian dominions. We then follow the lake some dozen miles to Baveno, a small town at the foot of Monte Monterone. Opposite Baveno are three very small islands, one of which, Isola Bella, is regarded as very beautiful, as its name indicates. It seems scarce ten rods in diameter, and yet it is the seat of a castle, and built up artificially on piers thrown into the lake, and has ten terraces rising one above another, and planted with all the trees and fruits of the tropical clime. It is ornamented with statues, vases, obelisks and black cypress trees. In winter it is covered to protect it from the frosts. It belongs to Count Borromeo.

Leaving the lake, we noticed among the agricultural incidents, two women ploughing with a pair of cows, one holding the plough, which was on wheels, and was drawn by a tongue, like that of a sled, which projected through the yoke

some three feet and formed the handle by which the other woman guided them aright. The scythes are short and heavy, much like our bush scythes; the sneaths are mostly straight, with a single —— (I cannot think now of the name of the handle). The rakes are many of them clumsy things, and the forks are often of wood and shaped like a manure fork in New England. It is common in Italy and Switzerland to see women do all the various kinds of outdoor work which men ought to perform, even to the carrying of hay and grain in bundles on their backs. But the most unwomanly employment I have seen is the gathering up of dung with their naked hands and putting it into a basket on their heads. But the women of these countries are, in great part, mere vassals. The peasant women are utterly without taste or cleanliness.

From Lake Maggiore our way lay upon the river Tosa, which rises in the Alps and empties into the lake. Like all the rivers from the mountains, it is a very rapid stream, and is often swollen by rains into a destructive torrent, sweeping away the most substantial stone bridges, and quite destroying the road often for some distance.

LAKE MAGGIORE, July 8th, 5.20 o'clock.

At Domo d' Ossola we stopped an hour and proceeded on our way at 10 o'clock P. M., gradually rising into higher and still higher regions, with abrupt mountain precipices on either hand, until the heaviness of the eyelids prevented observation.

Just before daybreak we were all aroused to descend from the carriage and to make our way up the steep ascent on foot. Soon we came to the ninth refuge, one of twenty places of refuge for travellers from storms or whatever danger assails them. This was a few miles from the summit, or sixth refuge, which we reached at quarter to 9 A. M., having break-

fasted at the village of Simplon, twenty-five miles from Domo d' Ossola, and about one hundred from Milan.

Among the places of refuge are several galleries, as they are termed; that is, excavations or tunnels through cliffs of rock for the road to pass. We arrived at the Gallery of Gondo at 4 o'clock A. M. This is five hundred and ninety-six feet long, and required the incessant labor of more than one hundred hands, working night and day in alternating gangs for eighteen months. On the north side of the summit there is another gallery, over which there falls a cascade, so that as you drive through it you are surprised by the noise of rushing waters overhead. The cascades are very numerous, and many of them very beautiful all through Switzerland. With regret at the imperfections of my descriptions,

I am yours in love,

A. A. M.

VEVAY, July 12, 1851.

MY DEAR WIFE, — On the morning of the 9th we left Geneva, by diligence, for Chamouni, a village fifty miles distant, and situated at the foot of Mont Blanc. Standing at the southwest of the village and looking northeasterly, you have the view given on the other side. The dark mountain next the village is Montanvert, and the highest peak of the range behind it, the white peak at the right hand, is Mont Blanc. The white tapering gorges, two of which come down from the mountain on the right of the picture, and one on the extreme left, are glaciers. The first on the right is Taconey, the one next it on the left, and which shows most on the print, is Bosson; while, on the extreme left, running up from the valley behind Montanvert, is the Mer de Glace (sea of ice), the largest glacier here. These glaciers are immense bodies of ice, not entirely solid but somewhat granular, so that the whole mass moves, somewhat like thick tar, down the mountain. The motion has been found to be about

two feet in twenty-four hours. It is, however, imperceptible to one who stands upon them. They are fifty to six hundred feet in depth, often thrown up into the most fantastic forms, and as they slide down the mountain they break, leaving immense fissures which within sight are filled with water, which runs beneath them. Some persons have lost their lives by slipping into these fissures, and one came through under the ice in the current of water to the valley below, uninjured save with a broken arm. Immense rocks are brought down the mountain by glaciers, and are borne up on their surface, sometimes supported on a column of ice high in air. These, with the dirt and gravel, give the surface of the glacier an unclean aspect; but as we went upon them, and looked down into those immense fissures, the ice was seen to be almost transparent, and beautifully tinted with blue. Our ascent to the Mer de Glace was on mules, with a guide, on the morning of the 10th, by a zigzag course, very steep, over the left point of the Montanvert as seen in the print. Behind the point and out of view, as represented in the print, is a hut where refreshments can be had, which stands on the borders of the Mer de Glace, some five thousand feet above the level of the sea. I gathered flowers a few feet from the permanent ice. Our ascent occupied about two and a half hours. Leaving the hotel at half-past 6 o'clock A. M., we returned at 12 noon.

The journey from Geneva to Chamouni was full of interest. Just out of Geneva we had Mont Salève on our left, rising three thousand one hundred feet very abruptly, and a little farther on, some fifteen miles from Geneva, Mont Brezon, somewhat higher and more abrupt. On our left, at some miles' distance, was Mont Voison, and near our path Mont Mole, a beautiful peak. Still farther on and to our right was Mont Dome de Gantè, covered with snow, and glittering brilliantly in the sunlight. Between these mountains and others, filling up nearly the entire distance, we made our

way in the valley of the Arve, which has its source in Mont Blanc, or among the peaks connected with it, and is a rapid turbid stream. It unites with the Rhone a mile or two below Geneva. In many places the road is on the very brink of a precipice, overlooking a deep gorge through which the Arve passes. The banks of the Niagara below the Falls are a good illustration of the appearance of these gorges, except these greatly transcend those in height. Standing upon the brink one's head swims, and especially in descending the mountain upon the mules, the beast would walk on the very edge, where a single misstep would plunge mule, rider, and all down a steep some thousands of feet.

A few miles from Bonneville is the Grotto of Balm, not half-way up the side of an abrupt cliff, and yet some eight hundred feet high. It extends into the mountain eighteen hundred feet, but the opening is so small that it is hardly distinguishable from the road below. A woman discharged a cannon placed by the wayside, two or three times, that we might hear the echoes from the mountains round, which were quite remarkable.

A little farther on is a cascade called the Haut d'Arpenaz, some fifteen hundred to two thousand feet high. It breaks into spray and mist before it gets half-way down, portions shooting down as sky-rockets fall in an exhibition of fireworks; but striking upon the rocks, it gathers into a stream again. The quantity of water is so small that it is only pretty; it is not sublime.

On a bridge near Sallanche, some fourteen or fifteen miles from Mont Blanc, we had a full view of this monarch of the mountains, capped in eternal snows. But on coming near it, it was veiled in clouds, and the next day being rainy, it was quite hid. Late in the evening, however, and again early in the morning, I had a glimpse of it from my hotel window; but it is an object that cannot be described.

The weather being bad, after our descent from the Montan-

vert, we took a char-à-bancs to Sallanche, thence a calèche to Bonneville, where we slept, and this morning in to Geneva, arriving at 9 o'clock. A char-à-bancs is a four-wheeled narrow carriage, the wheels small, and the forward ones a long way from the hind ones, connected by two wooden bars, on which is placed the body, without any other springs. The body resembles a cab body; but it has only one seat, which holds three and is placed lengthwise, so that passengers sit sidewise to the horses. A driver's seat is forward, and quite detached from the body of the vehicle. The carriage is covered with curtains on the sides and ends, which roll up at pleasure. It is a national carriage, but quite destitute of comfort. The calèche resembles a hack in form, but is very cheaply gotten up. Such, in brief, was my visit to far-famed Chamouni.

Yours in love,

A. A. MINER.

BASLE, July 13, 1851.

MY DEAR WIFE, — It is Sunday evening, 10 o'clock. My last two letters were written at Vevay, a pleasant town on Lake Geneva, about fifty miles from the city of Geneva, at which place we spent the night of the 11th inst., arriving there at 7 o'clock by steamer from Geneva. There are few places, among all that I have ever seen, more lovely than this. Situated on a declivity on the north shore of the lake, and near its head, where it is entered by the Rhone, it has the snow-capped peak called "Dent du Midi," on the opposite side of the lake, with many other lofty peaks staying up its hands as it were; several small villages adjacent to it, among which is Chillon, renowned for its castle and prison below the level of the lake, in which the generous Bonnivard was so long confined; and toward Lausanne and Geneva there are thousands of acres of the steep acclivity, rising to the height of several hundred feet, thickly terraced, and planted with

the vine. Poets have sung of it as the very embodiment of love. We left it yesterday morning at 9 o'clock by diligence for Berne, 55 miles distant.

Many of the customs here but ill comport with the beauty of the country. Saw two women to-day, bareheaded, each driving a four-horse team loaded with plank. In the hotels men wait upon the tables and make the beds, while the women are often seen pitching hay. The common classes are exceedingly coarse, uncultivated, and uninteresting. In the different cantons, some of which are Catholic and others Protestant, there is a marked difference. There is more thrift and tidiness, and less beggary, in the Protestant than in the Catholic cantons. And when we consider the Catholic license for sin, it is reasonable it should be so. On my way to Chamouni, for example, I saw a large wooden cross, out of doors upon a hill, on which the Bishop of Annecy had caused to be inscribed the announcement of forty days' indulgence to all who would say an Ave Maria before that cross. And to-day, especially the latter part of the day, after reaching the canton of Basle, groups of men were seen on every hand, smoking, chatting, and bowling, in a manner very unlike Sunday with us.

The dress of the women is different in different cantons. The very broad-brimmed Leghorn hats are extensively fashionable. Some have a kind of handle to these running up in the centre of the crown. Multitudes of coarse, sunburnt young women wear caps, white and black. Some wear a bow of black ribbon, not unlike that upon the front of gentlemen's stocks, but immensely large and with broad ends, so attached to the hair at the top of the comb as to stand upright with a tremendous flare. The women are very thick-set, and generally wear their dresses very short, sometimes scarce half-way from their knees to their ankles. In the canton Berne they dress the waist very peculiarly, a black bodice, unlike the rest of the dress, covering the shoulders

behind from the neck to the waist, coming round under the chin like the yoke to a shirt, and extending before from the waist up nearly as high as level with the armpits. The intervening space before, is filled in slovenly with a coarse white cloth; and large full sleeves from the shoulder to the elbow, made of the same, are worn, with sleeves of black, like the waist for the forearm.

Cretinism and the goitre are very prevalent in Switzerland, and especially in Savoy on the way to Chamouni from Geneva. Cretinism is little less than idiocy, and goitre is a disease afflicting women chiefly, in which the lower part of the neck below the chin grows up into a hideous mass of flesh. In Savoy nearly all the women appear to be afflicted with it. In one instance, when the diligence stopped, there were more than a dozen in sight afflicted with the goitre, and four or five cretins. It is supposed to be caused by the malaria exhaled in valleys, and confined by the surrounding hills. More wretched manifestations of human degeneracy I have never seen than in Savoy.

On our way to Berne, we passed the village of Bulle, 18 miles from Vevay; Fribourg, 36; and arrived at Berne at 8 o'clock. In Fribourg I gathered some leaves from a lime-tree, said to be four hundred years old, and to have sprung from a twig brought by a lad who dropped down dead upon that spot, having fought in the battle of Morat, and run home the entire distance to carry the good news of victory. Here, too, is a cathedral, remarkable for having one of the best organs in Europe, imitating the human voice, and a great variety of other difficult sounds, and remarkable also for a representation in bas-relief of the Last Judgment, over the front door. Among other singularities, a devil has a basket full of children, running away with them; and in another part, some persons are being weighed in the scales of justice, and a young imp is trying to turn the scale. Here are two suspension bridges, one of which has the long-

est single arch in the world. It crosses an immense ravine through which the Saarine flows.

This day we have come from Berne to Basle by diligence; passing Soleure, where Thaddeus Kosciusko closed his life and near which he is buried; and Giesthal, the chief town of the Basle campagne. Stepping into the cathedral at Soleure a moment, I heard a man address (in the vernacular, I presume), a large collection of children. Before leaving Berne I ascended the tower of its cathedral to the bells, one of which weighed 28,000 pounds, and its tongue 7,000 pounds. The view of the city, of the river Aar, upon which it is situated, of the surrounding country, which is fruitful, and of the Bernese Alps on the east, and Jura Alps on the west, is very fine. Berne is a clean city, with colonnades on its streets, and, like Basle, contains about 25,000 inhabitants.

In reaching Basle, the summit of the pass over the Jura Alps, is 3,000 feet above the level of the sea, and yet the road is so good, and the grade so easy, the height is not perceived. The height of the Simplon pass is 6,578 feet. That of the Montanvert which we ascended at Chamouni, over 8,000 feet. We passed near to several ruins, and among them those of the Castle of Falkenstein, once owned by Rudolph von Wart, who was executed upon the rack for the murder of his uncle, Emperor Albert of Austria.

We have to-day seen horses fed on bread; house frames filled in with clay for the walls and partitions; as usual, houses and barns under the same roof; and more *new* houses in process of erection, than we have seen before for a month. After a ride of sixty miles to-day by diligence, we arrived at Basle at 8 o'clock, having travelled by diligence twelve days and five nights. After tea we went out upon the bridge of the Rhine, and crossed into Germany. It is a glorious river, and the full moon added to its beauty.

Yours &c.,

A. A. MINER.

The letter which follows was written with the impression that it might be the writer's last from the Old World, though it did not prove to be so.

LONDON, July 29th, 1851.

MY DEAR WIFE, — I write again so soon to give you the information I could not give when I wrote you before. We shall leave London in three or four days for Scotland, Ireland, etc., and sail from Liverpool for Boston direct in the steamer *America*, on the 23d of August. We shall probably arrive in Boston in nine to twelve days. Don't be alarmed, however, if we do not reach home in six weeks; for you know accidents may happen. I have been induced to this course in order to keep with my companions; and (I will not deny it) in order to reach home the sooner. I think I shall have accomplished what I promised myself very well within that time. Besides, I have your advice to come much sooner; since you advise me to come as soon as I should find "*delight*" in meeting you, which, I hope you will not doubt, would have been long before I reached Liverpool in crossing the Atlantic.

If this shall find you in Boston, perhaps you will think it best to remain there or *be* there when I arrive. And if this finds you at Lempster, perhaps you will think it worth the trouble to come to Boston at that time, and accompany me again to Lempster after I get home; as I shall wish to visit Lempster soon. This would suit me quite well. If, however, you think it best to remain at Lempster till I join you there, you can do so. I think you had better come. You will make such arrangements touching the Convention as you think proper. It would give me pleasure to see all my brothers and sisters on that or any other occasion, as may suit them, and to have them make a good long visit.

I don't know as I shall write you again before my return.

I beg you to make my warmest regards to all my friends,

and especially to my parents. My health and spirits are very good.

In haste, and with never-failing love, I am

Your affectionate husband,

A. A. MINER.

Homeward bound; but the town which gave the world Shakespeare, with the birthplace of the poet, the cathedral where his bones rest, give matter for two letters of the same date, and with these the selection of letters, that might be greatly extended, may close.

STRATFORD-ON-AVON, Aug. 4, 1851.

MY DEAR WIFE, — I write this epistle from the birthplace of Shakespeare. I left London this morning at 7 o'clock by rail for Oxford, 68 miles. Here I took a guide and visited several of the colleges, among which was Christ Church, of which Dr. Pusey is a resident canon, and which has the famous bell called the "Great Tom," which strikes, at 9 o'clock, 101,—the number of students, I believe. In the old cathedral connected with this college is the tomb of Burton, author of the "Anatomy of Melancholy," one of the two works which some writer (I think Sir Walter Scott) says can keep him awake. I also visited Oriel College of which Dr. Newman *was* a fellow; St. Mary's Church, founded in 1498; Corpus Christi College; All Souls' College which has no students, but supports with its enormous funds a president and forty fellows; University College; Queen's, in the spacious court of which was held the great agricultural dinner; New College, which has the finest chapel among them; the "Brazen Nose" College; the Balliol, in front of which Latimer, Ridley, and Cranmer were martyred, in a narrow pass in the street, near to which, just round a corner of the street, is a neat Gothic monument to their memory. There are nineteen colleges in all, with five halls. The whole

number, including officers and fellows, is about five thousand; the number resident is scarcely more than two thousand.

The canons marry; the fellows forfeit their place by marrying. Yet they often accept a living elsewhere, and still retain their salaries as fellows, thus becoming non-resident members. These colleges are all upon much the same foundation, have a similar style of architecture, similar quadrangular courts, nicely kept, and do not differ materially in their general aspect from those of Cambridge. Christ Church College, the first named, is the largest and finest. It has about two hundred members. As at Cambridge, so here, there is a university in which all the colleges culminate, which has a large library—the famous Bodleian library—containing from 200,000 to 300,000 volumes, among which are many very valuable Oriental manuscripts, and to which graduates of the College only can gain access. Oxford is situated upon an extensive plain, contains about thirty thousand inhabitants, is watered by the river Isis, and is altogether a very pleasant place.

In conversation with a laborer upon the railway, I learned that the wages of the men are 14s. per week the first year, 15s. the second, and 16s. the third. If, however, any accident or mishap, or forgetfulness or omission of duty, comes by them, they are liable to a fine, and to a deferring a year later the increase of their wages. These were thought by him to be good, the workman boarding himself. Harvesting wages vary from 9s. to 14s. a week. House girls get from 6d. to 4s. a week.

Having dined, and repaired to the railway station, while waiting there I was weighed, and “guess” how much—149 lbs.! Leaving Oxford by rail at 3 o'clock, we reached Banbury (24 miles) at 4, and passed thence by coach (21 miles farther) to Stratford-on-Avon.

I lost no time in repairing at once to the house in which Shakespeare was born. It is the middle one in the picture on

this sheet, though the house adjacent on each side originally belonged to it. As you perceive from the print, it is an old frame house filled in with brick and plaster. The roof is earthen tiles. On the front is a sign with this inscription, "The immortal Shakespeare was born in this house."

Yours &c.,

A. A. MINER.

STRATFORD-ON-AVON, Aug. 4, 1851.

MY DEAR WIFE, — Having shown you the outside of Shakespeare's house, we will now enter. An old lady resides here, and is in charge of the house, which is owned by the Shakespeare Club. She will wait on us. The front door opens into a room with a coarse stone floor, used till within about twenty years as a meat market. Passing through into a small back room, we ascend a very narrow, dark, and crooked flight of stairs, when we find ourselves in the room in which Shakespeare was born, represented on this sheet. It has but one window, with very low ceiling, and would be altogether uninteresting if anybody else than Shakespeare had first seen the light of day in it. What little furniture it contains is said to have belonged exclusively to Shakespeare himself. The walls, windows, and ceiling are entirely written over with the names of visitors. Among these are names of Walter Scott, Washington Irving, Prof. J. W. Webster, late deceased, Judge Daly, of New York, and many others. A bust of Shakespeare is among the ornaments of the room.

Nearly opposite my hotel — the "Red Horse" Tavern — is another and more extensive collection of relics of the Bard of Avon, which we also visited. Thence we repaired to the church in which rest his remains, but found it closed, it being already near nine o'clock. The church, surrounded by the churchyard, stands on the very banks of the Avon, a pleasant and quiet stream, made dear to all to whom the

English language is known. The country, also, is pleasant, though somewhat more hilly than near London. Between Banbury and Stratford we passed the famous Edge Hill, where a battle was fought between Oliver Cromwell and Charles I. A round building, used as a public-house, marks the spot where the ancient castle stood which was destroyed in the battle.

Aug. 5th. Before breakfast we again sallied out to the church, gained admission, and found Shakespeare's tombstone, that of his wife, and one of each of his three daughters. The four latter have their respective names, etc., inscribed, but on Shakespeare's tomb there appears only these lines:—

" Good friends, for Jesus' sake forbear,
To dig the dust enclosed here ;
Blest be the man that spares these stones,
And curst be he that moves my bones."

These five stones are horizontal slabs, and make a part of the pavement or flooring to that portion of the church called "Shakespeare's Chapel." Near to them in the wall is a slab inserted bearing Shakespeare's name and surmounted by his bust.

It is said Shakespeare first attracted attention by a distich in which he showed little fear of the parson. This dignitary had an old dog which had become useless from the infirmities of age, and which he requested the clerk to kill. Shakespeare, overhearing this, wrote the following and attached it to the dog's neck, which had the effect to procure his reprieve.

" Now I am old and cannot bark,
I am condemned by the parson to be hanged by the clerk."

At half-past 8 o'clock I left Stratford-on-Avon by coach, bidding farewell to the "Red Horse," and making my bow, as I passed, to the "Old Stag's Head," "The Bull," and a few other hotels, and reached Warwick, 10 miles, at

10 o'clock. Here we spent a few minutes in the Assizes, Criminal Court, heard one young man receive some good advice from the judge, which closed up with a sentence to the penitentiary for six months; and listened to the indictment of another for passing counterfeit money at a beer-shop, against whom the young woman who served him came forward to testify. She was a modest, good-looking servant girl, but showed not the slightest evidence of shame when she testified that it was her business to attend the bar of the beer-shop.

From the court room we repaired to the ancient church, founded in 1392. Here repose the remains of the Robert Dudley, Queen Elizabeth's Earl of Leicester, also those of Ambrose, his brother. No one could discover from the tomb of Leicester, whether the ashes of a villain, or a saint, rested there. Nor did the remarks of the attendant throw any light upon that point. Unfortunately for his memory, however, history does solve that question.

Warwick contains a population of some 10,000 persons, is compact, and quite pleasant. There are many objects of interest not far away, such as Guy's Cliff, Stoneleigh Abbey, and Kenilworth Castle; but its own castle, on the borders of the village, possesses a claim to especial mention, which it shall have in my next.

Yours &c.,

A. A. MINER.

CHAPTER XXIV.

GENERAL DENOMINATIONAL SERVICE.

VERY few ministers who are faithful to parish duties restrict their zeal and endeavors to such narrow limits. They know that the parish is no isolated interest; that its vitality and efficiency can be fully maintained only as they maintain the great body of which it is a part. The hand cannot be kept strong if the blood of the body is bereft of nutrition. Hence the good parish minister feels his obligations to, his duty as respects, the general church, supplementing denominational service within his parish with general service without the parish confines. It will not be set down to Dr. Miner's special credit that he simply did what most of his clerical brethren did, — gave service to his denomination at large. There was, however, something exceptional in the extent of this general service. The whole denomination was ever upon his heart, and no exactions of any lesser body could tempt him to neglect the claims of all the brethren the land over. It is at times said of a particular minister: "He is a good preacher and is conscientiously attentive to the claims of his people upon him; he never neglects the sick, the dying, and the bereaved. But this is all. His parish is his denomination; he never acts for or seems to think of any

broader and more comprehensive sphere. This is a most excellent record, so far as it goes; it is a weak, at least an imperfect one, perhaps a selfish one, in view of what it does not include. From the first of his ministry to his dying hour A. A. Miner was too great for any parish, for anything less than the whole Zion of his faith,—it will soon be made to appear, too great for a denomination. But his never-failing devotion to his special charge was but symbolic of his broader work for, and interest in, every phase of denominational endeavor, from the Provinces to the Pacific slope.

It is of interest to look over the files of the denominational periodicals for the past half-century, specially those circulating in New England. The “ministers present” at his State Convention and his Association, and all denominational assemblies in his neighborhood, very rarely fail to include the name of A. A. Miner. The important committees, particularly the responsible committee on fellowship, very frequently include the same name, either as chairman or secretary. In 1850, the Massachusetts Universalist Convention saw occasion to make a report of its condition and work to the United States Convention, and “Bro. A. A. Miner” is the “committee of one” to perform the duty. Though E. H. Chapin’s masterly eloquence had made him the favorite preacher on special occasions, on his leaving Boston for New York, his mantle soon fell upon Mr. Miner,—as, at the ordination of W. H. Ryder, at Nashua, in 1845; of H. A. Eaton, at Milford, in 1846; of J. W. Putnam, the same year, at Danversport; of the installation of John Moore, in 1847: if he does not preach

the sermon he gives the address. And so of dedications and other occasions where the people are particular as to the minister who is to serve them. The annual meetings of the minor church organizations, in arranging for the annual meeting, must have the "Address by Br. Miner." The General Convention observed its centennial anniversary the last week in September, 1870, in Gloucester, bringing together much the largest and most representative assembly ever held under the auspices of the denomination. Of course the centennial sermon was the dominant feature of the varied programme. Again of course, Dr. Miner was the preacher, improving the opportunity to give a most comprehensive survey of the religious and philosophical movements which, by various channels, had led to the historic hour. He was thus perpetually answering calls, particularly on great occasions; never grudgingly, never complaining of overwork, always responding cheerfully, when able to make a favorable response. In truth, he felt that whatever he was able to do for his denomination, at any time or place, he was to do as a matter of course — it was in his ordination vows. It is to be repeated that in this regard he was by no means peculiar; few ministers thought of declining any call to service; it is simply affirmed that of work asked of his parish he did a lion's share. When the United States Convention, taking on a new organization under the name of the General Convention, began "aggressive work," A. A. Miner was at the front as adviser and helper. When its work was sustained by parish assessments, Dr. Miner's parish did not make returns in part, it responded in full. If

the money did not come he went after it. The duty of the parish call included the getting of contributions to make good the returns. In this he was not alone; it must in truth be said that he was one of a company relatively quite too small. In brief, he was occasional preacher, moderator, chairman of "the committee," — legion the name of the committees, counsellor, referee, — ever without money and without price. The specifications may seem to denote little things; the aggregate would have been appalling to the average man.

In 1874 the General Convention was making a vigorous and well-planned endeavor to establish a Universalist congregation in San Francisco. As the metropolis of the Pacific slope, the city had very great strategical significance. Great hopes had been cherished in regard to the mission. It was confidently thought that at an early date a church would be erected and the cause have therein strong anchorage. But the local leadership proved to be erratic and destructive in the extreme. The peril was most serious. It became expedient that a strong effort be made to rescue the ark from the danger that threatened to engulf it. To this end a representative of the Convention must be sent to the distant city, and one whose character and prestige would promise success. To whom could the officers of the Convention go? To whom did they go? Why, of course, to A. A. Miner. The compensation was the payment of the expenses—his wife to accompany him. On reaching the place of his destination, Dr. Miner discovered that the evil he went to conquer had been supplemented by other and later difficulties which could

not have been foreseen. It is believed that the object of his mission was accomplished, and that the cause was rescued from the immediate peril. Unhappily, exigencies of a later date brought a new peril which was beyond the possibility of immediate removal. The purpose here is not, however, to narrate the particulars of his undertaking, or to give an award of merit. The enterprise is referred to simply as a case in point, and on a very conspicuous scale, illustrating the character and willingness of the man to serve the general Church, and to risk the perils of a long journey to accomplish the end.

In this brief recital no extended mention is made of enterprises that would fill chapters, in which Dr. Miner was the servant of his general, not less than his local, Church — his great help in the way of organizing the chaotic elements of his denomination, and his pioneership in the cause of home missions, and in greatly increasing and improving the publication facilities, and his Herculean achievements in the holding up of denominational institutions of learning. Apart from these distinctive enterprises, in ways more general, and under unlooked-for circumstances, he was proving himself a leader and worker in any opportunity that came to hand to render the wider service to which the denomination of his love might seem to call him. Letters seeking counsel came to him from all parts of the land, a proper response to which included labors whereof the verbal response was the least particular. Needy parishes, fancying that a Boston parish must overflow with money, were always beseeching him for financial help, to

which call, when satisfied that the case was worthy of sympathy, he influenced his people to proffer help, he himself always one of the helpers. Again and yet again it is affirmed that in these labors for others, for other sections of his denomination, he was not the sole sympathizer and friend, but he was by many degrees the chief! The narrow fidelity that can see only "my parish" was never a characteristic of A. A. Miner.

CHAPTER XXV.

SERVICE IN CHURCH ORGANIZATIONS.

IN giving account of Mr. Miner's ordination at Nashua, it was noted that the denomination was at that time very imperfectly organized, and that an ordination service, necessarily taking up no little of the time, was no interference with, or interruption of, the proper business of the occasion. In truth, the "business" of a Universalist assembly under any auspices half a century ago was for the most part the hearing of sermons. The convention, or association, was an opportunity to hear noted preachers. If Ballou, Whittemore, Thomas, Williamson, Skinner, Thayer, Chapin, and a few others could be "put on to preach"—as the phrase went—the event became memorable to the many who were drawn together; and the many came. As a handle to the session, there was a moderator, a secretary, the formality of business which never got beyond the giving of advice,—which any private individual had an equal right to do,—with the exception of particular acts of fellowship and discipline. Very near the period designated, the United States Convention held an annual session in New York, and so numerous were the sermons given on the occasion that their publication soon after made a not

very small volume ; it may be doubted if any other incident of the occasion lives in any person's memory.

For this dominant specialty of the convention there was a sufficient reason. Half a century ago Universalism, as was the case with the faith of the apostles, was "everywhere spoken against." The believers were contemned by a Pharisaic majority — by sectarians who had the popular ear. The doctrine was reviled as pestilential heresy, and its champions and believers were misrepresented and maligned. What more natural, what more justifiable, what more in the line of duty, than the seeking mutual sympathy, the strengthening of one another by exchange of experiences and mutual encouragements, and particularly by hearing the Word expounded by the pulpit orators. The word brought home was not: "We did this, suggested that policy, took action upon a proposition;" the all-sufficient report was: "We heard Hosea Ballou, and I. D. Williamson, and E. G. Brooks, and William S. Balch, and Abel C. Thomas;" under the exigency of the persecuting epoch this was business, — it was about all the business that entered any one's thought or wish.

Of course a form of organization which provided for little more than preaching, a resolution on temperance or slavery, a slight incident, — sometimes a disturbing one, — simply marks a transition epoch. The policy born of an exigency must have passed away with it. Had the denomination been unable to get beyond it, the days of its usefulness would have been ended a generation ago. The question was vital: Has Universalism the germ of expansion, of development, of an

equipment of itself for work as well as for belief and exultation? Can it, in the Apostolic meaning of the words, forget its principles, — that is, not hold them as exclusive and sufficient of themselves, — and go on to perfection? Can it become a power unto salvation, as well as a rejoicing in the prospect thereof? Younger readers must not make the mistake of regarding this general question as a concession that the denomination was ever, and everywhere, exclusively dogmatic and controversial. The writer's memory can testify in most explicit terms to the contrary. The Universalist "meeting-houses," as nearly all churches were at the time called, were sanctuaries for worship as well as schools of doctrine. The preachers were Bible men in the spirit as well as the letter. They felt what they taught, they evoked the religious fervor, and they made the sermon an agency in the moral and spiritual betterment of their hearers. But, as already explained, the exigency of the times made them put great emphasis in the doctrine, compelled them to guard it against misrepresentation, and to elucidate the principles of the faith. The dominant work was the struggle for existence, and the special, though by no means the exclusive, emphasis was dogmatic. The times made them imitators of the apostles, in that they would have been forgetful of duty had they not everywhere "contended earnestly for the faith," giving out of a full heart and a thoughtful brain "the reason for the hope that was within them." But, as has been explained, the exigency and the policy it called for denote an age of transition,

and the question renewed itself: Was there vitality enough in Universalism to save itself from effeteness by transferring the emphasis from the thought to its application? Could it provide itself with the equipments needful for perpetuation? *Could it organize itself into a working force* to do its full share in extending the kingdom of God on earth?

Whoever will look into "The Register"—the Denominational Year Book—for any of the recent years, will find an answer to this question with a "bill of particulars," not a few of which may be of service in other connections and chapters. The totals given under various captions will not justify a spirit of boasting. They ought to be greater. They but presage great possibilities. Yet they are very creditable. They practically exhort the Universalists of to-day to thank God and take courage. They call for a yet farther advance in Church extension, and in the agencies which make the extension possible. They attest that in organization great progress has been attained, and that the business of convention and convocation is other than the hearing of the eloquent preacher and the being doctrinally edified.

Just where and when the name of Alonzo Ames Miner appeared in this indispensable work of binding the loose elements into something of symmetrical unity, making an army out of what had hardly got beyond the militia stage, cannot be definitely stated. It would be unjust to others to claim for him pioneership or exclusive supremacy. In the days of his youth, the writer, on first getting familiar with conventions and on terms

of acquaintanceship with the leaders, heard the voice of Thomas J. Sawyer vehemently pleading for an organization worthy of the name, — one with equipments and institutions. In this he had the co-operation of the Second Ballou. A very pungent, and by results proved to be a tangibly effective, word was spoken by W. W. Curry at Providence at least forty years ago. Elbridge G. Brooks was early in the work, and having put his hand to the particular plough he never looked back; he was a most industrious factor in the transition. The name of Massena Goodrich must not be forgotten. And simple justice demands that mention be made of certain laymen, — Trask, Foster, Washburn, Busch, Joy, Metcalf.¹ In fact, the first Universalist Convention entitled to the name was held in Lowell, Mass., about forty years ago. The first Universalist Convention report entitled to the name was prepared for that convention and read to it by Henry B. Metcalf. Let it not be doubted that if not the pioneer of this work on which the future of the denomination depended, A. A. Miner was in it from the first, in every stage of its progress, to his latest hour of service in the flesh. And in the task of convincing doubters, of overcoming prejudice, of influencing the lukewarm into efficient support, he was a host.

At the "social parish gathering" held Jan. 26, 1893, to which several references have been made, a sentiment was read in these words: "The organizations of the Universalist Church, — local, State, national: they

¹ As in this mention of names the writer draws upon his memory, and as forty years ago he had little knowledge of the laity out of New England, he cannot do the justice which he would do to efficient lay-workers in the Middle States and the West.

embody and express the genius of our religion, and invite to united action and systematic Christian work." In presenting the gentleman whose service in the initial work of organization, just noted, made him the fit respondent, the President, Mr. Henry D. Williams, said:—

"We are honored to-night with the presence of the President of our General Convention, who all his life long has worked for the improvement of methods of church work. I have the pleasure to call upon Hon. H. B. Metcalf, of Pawtucket, to respond."

In responding, Mr. Metcalf, among other pertinent things, said:—

"Now this parish here—the 'Old School Street'—does not need my injunction to be faithful to the organizations of the Universalist Church. If I should say that to some people they would say, 'Oh, Columbus Avenue Church is rich!' But I knew something of the church when it was not rich, and I am well informed in relation to all those things; but in spite of the fact that Dr. Miner sits here, I do not mind saying to you that his influence had more to do towards developing the spirit of organization than any other of his associates. . . . I know something about what has gone out from the 'Old School Street' and the Columbus Avenue Church; and if I refer to anything which has been done by members of this parish, I do not count myself in. That excellent institution, the Universalist Sabbath School Union, was conceived by one who has been one of the most valued and active members of the church,—an organization that in later days was very effective in strengthening the denomination, in strengthening and leading to other organizations. . . . Tufts College did not move but a very short distance until School Street Church took hold and put in some of

the largest contributions that ever went in. That is an admirable institution known as 'The Goddard Seminary.' I know who has been the bountiful benefactor of that interest,—one of the grandest men we have ever known in Christian work, Thomas A. Goddard. There is another institution, Dean Academy, founded and established by a member of the Old School Street Universalist Society, Dr. Oliver Dean. It founded the Publishing House. This Society furnished the men who started and raised and backed the money to build up that Publishing House. . . . The first organization that we had in the Universalist Church, outside of the churches themselves, that could be called an ecclesiastical organization, was the 'Massachusetts Universalist Convention.' It had its beginning in the Old School Street Church. Some of the people are here from that body. You do not realize what this advantage of organization is. You do not realize how our fathers distrusted organization. They had seen organizations interfere with the liberty of the people, and they had got prejudiced very much against organization, and we had quite a little fight in establishing the Massachusetts Universalist Convention; but the School Street Church favored the project, though some of the people who opposed it thought that they would be sorry for what they had done. The States all about have copied after our convention, however. It was the forerunner of the ecclesiastical organization of the denomination. The General Convention of Universalists came into existence about 1870. The same people were there; the same people were taking the leading part; the same people are largely entitled to the credit. I do not want to claim all the credit for the convention; but you know that the Massachusetts Convention was the stepping-stone to that larger organization."

The words quoted from Mr. Metcalf repeat a few of the facts already given, and others of his statements

will be repeated, with the addition of pertinent particulars; it is, however, helpful as a comprehensive statement from one who was active in every stage of the history. And there is great truth in what he says of the distrust of the denominational fathers as respects organization, and of the reasons given in explanation. It must not, therefore, be considered strange that the endeavor to compact the Universalist people into a closer, a systematic, and an efficient organization, encountered opposition. The abuses which organization is so often and seriously made to further are glaring; while the uses, though far greater, are often occult, and seldom such as to arrest recognition. A particular application of fundamental law that is felt to be oppressive can be made to work no small proportion of the community into a frenzy of iconoclastic rage, while thousands of beneficent operations are so much matters of course that they receive little attention and less mention. A week of anarchy would sober the most rebellious, and bring them to their knees in prayer for the protection of constitution and statute; but the anarchy never comes save in some quite local disturbance, and hence the mercy of law, sheriff, and court, is often unseen and less frequently confessed. Organization in the ecclesiastical bodies was naturally seen in its features of oppression, — its abuses, — and by none with more painful vision than by Universalists. It was human in them to permit the abuses to eclipse the uses, and with this shortsightedness Mr. Miner was ever lenient. At the outset, therefore, he dealt with argument, and with pleas for acquiescence in systematic methods, in the lack of

which the denomination could have no future. When, however, after fair, patient, full discussion, organization became a legal fact, he was indignant when the anarchistic spirit intruded itself into places where loyalty alone had rightful place. If any readers of this have memories of the session of the Massachusetts Convention held in Springfield shortly after its present form of organization had been adopted, on which occasion Mr. Miner was the presiding officer, they must remember a violent outbreak of the disloyal temper, and they must also remember the painful and prolonged silence after the president gave notice, in accents that cut to the bone, that such anarchistic sentiments must not have renewed manifestation in that presence!

In the endeavor to raise a fund under the auspices of the General Convention, and in aid of its twofold work, — that of educating candidates for the ministry and of missionary enterprises, — made in 1869–70, the centennial year of the denomination, the canvass was pushed under a variety of pertinent and effective appeals. Of course Dr. Miner was in the field, himself the largest donor among the ministers. Seconding all the good reasons why the fund, — in honor of the man who a hundred years before had, almost unwittingly, given the denomination its start in America, — should be called the “Murray Fund,” he showed the born statesman in giving emphasis to such a fund as a bond of union, — *a cement of denominational organization*. He was by no means so materialistic as to fancy that a common financial interest can of itself, or even as a principal factor, hold together an organization meant for

moral and religious ends. He never spoke in the words or with the accent which forgot the supreme bond of fellowship in love for the faith and the cause ; but he too well understood the present stage of human nature not to know, and to take into earnest consideration, the fact that money in hand is a "cement" not lightly to be considered. Louis Napoleon did not distrust the love of Frenchmen for France when he sought to add a bond to their national devotion by creating a public debt whereof the French people should be the principal creditors. No one doubts the patriotic fervor of the men and women of England, but one need not be particularly profound in the mysteries of statecraft to perceive that Great Britain's debt to Britons is a very strong clasp keeping the kingdom intact. Every greenback in circulation at the close of the War of Rebellion was more or less a preventive of renewed secession, or of national disintegration. The several funds of the different organizations of the Universalist Church, — the Murray Fund the chief, — are links in the exterior chain making the church union the stronger. Dr. Miner showed the sagacity of the statesman in the particular stress which he placed upon a financial tie in compacting and strengthening organization in the denomination of his love.

Men are not always to be credited for the remoter results of their endeavors, for they are often wiser than they themselves know. Great credit is due A. A. Miner for the exceptional efficiency of his leadership or co-operation — whichever it may have been — in the making of a denomination loosely held together into

an organized church equipped for systematic and aggressive work. But out of the enterprises — some of which he began, others of which he aided, nearly all of which he greatly furthered — came certain results which he could not have foreseen, a few of which, it must be said, were not unqualifiedly welcome to him, occasionally moving him to restrain and moderately to criticise. In truth, the organizing element which he was infusing into his co-workers forty years ago, and which, in some particulars, he was receiving from them, has not only organized the church, but has been prolific of auxiliary organizations. Mention has been made of what he did directly, and through his parish remotely, in regard to the Sabbath School Union, and more remotely in regard to other organizations having the same general purpose. There can be no good reason to doubt that what was done at the outset made more practicable later organizations, — the Woman's Centenary Association and the Young People's Christian Union, the former having its initial in an impromptu utterance of a woman in the General Convention at Buffalo, in 1869; the latter having its suggestion in the Christian Endeavor movement in other denominations. There is no attempt here to measure out the individual meed of praise in enterprises for which many worked conjointly, the services of one interlacing with the services of others. It is, however, true, and doubtless every reader of this will concur in the declaration, that in the work of organization in the interests of Universalism there is little danger that the merits of the leaders will be exaggerated; for wise leadership is often

the principal constituent in the struggle. Estimates have been made of the equivalent of Bonaparte expressed in definite numbers of average veterans. At the lowest estimate the equivalent must count by many thousands. All gratefully concede that, in whatever he was deeply interested, our Miner was a veritable Roderick, and that

"One blast upon his bugle horn
Were worth a thousand men."

An important incident of organization merits in this connection very explicit statement, for it has become an immense factor in church stability and extension, — the holding of permanent funds the income of which only can be put to service. Of course, practical people would not intrust their offerings to irresponsible parties, held to fidelity by no chartered obligations and restrictions. Hence charters giving legal permission to hold sums of money within prescribed limits, and under such legal safeguards as to give reasonable assurance that gifts shall be rigidly and safely applied to the specified ends, at once appealed to the generosity and zeal of the believers. The Murray Fund in aid of theological students, the distribution of Universalist literature, church extension and the missionary cause, now amounting to \$126,294; the Theological Scholarship Fund, created by the repayment of loans made to theological students, now amounting to \$50,956, the income appropriated in loans to new students; the Church Extension Fund, started in 1884 on the modest foundation of \$210, the income of which is to be devoted as its name indicates, now amounting to \$11,669; the Gunn Ministerial Relief Fund, bequeathed by the

late John G. Gunn of New York "to create a fund for the relief, support, and maintenance of needy clergymen, their widows and families, of the Universalist denomination," except those in fellowship through the New York State Convention, which has an endowment for that purpose, — \$5,000, but now \$12,909; the Tibbetts Memorial Fund, of about \$10,000, a gift to the General Convention; the G. L. Demarest Reserve Fund, of \$14,000; the William H. Ryder Fund, of \$25,000, the income to be used, "at the discretion of the Board of Trustees, for the education of young persons for the ministry of the Universalist Church;" the "T" Fund, in time to amount to not less than \$16,000; and other gifts of lesser amount; and yet other funds held by the women's organizations and by State Conventions, — quite large in New York and in Massachusetts, — could never have been created in the lack of careful and legal organization. Hardly a year passes that men and women favored of fortune do not, under existing conditions, remember one or more of the denominational interests in their wills. Had the "prejudice" which A. A. Miner and others were compelled to overcome proved invulnerable, and given direction to denominational development, ere this the "development" might have been retrogression.¹

The distinction habitually made between parish work and missionary work is not profound. In the essentials the two are substantially identical. The preacher in the pulpit and the preacher in the "field" have one

¹ The summary of funds held by the denomination is condensed from the Register of 1896.

great end in common,—that of bringing men to the knowledge of the truth as it is in Christ Jesus, and the making of that truth practical in their lives and conduct. There is, however, a practical difference as respects particular methods and organizations. In the earlier time, when the work of the Universalist preacher was largely that of doctrinal instruction and defence, he not only had a zeal but an opportunity to go into adjacent, even distant, regions, and preach the Glad Tidings,—as has been explained in the chapter on the Methuen Pastorate, the youthful Miner an example of what is described. But as phases of pastoral duty increased in number, the settled pastor had less and less of strength for the extra service; possibly in too many instances the early zeal began to cool. If therefore outlying and more distant fields were to be tilled and new societies and churches established, a special organization having this end in view must be made operative. Hence the forming of missionary societies, or the missionary adjunct of the association or convention, as the basis of supplies, the missionary going forth with no support from the field of his endeavors except such as his zeal and ability might develop.

The files of denominational papers show that an agitation having the Home Mission in view began before Mr. Miner's more conspicuous day. It had considerable manifestation in the State of New York, also in New Hampshire; and the name of John G. Adams, of sainted memory, early appears as pleading for missions "within the limits of the Boston Association." Just at what date Mr. Miner came into this new line of

duty does not appear. A fortunate circumstance, however, gave him sudden prominence and distinction, and effective leadership.

Not long after his settlement in Lowell he was led to see the imperative need of home missions; and to see the need was with him sufficient motive to act. He therefore in a Sunday evening sermon presented the subject to his people, explaining the urgency and calling for some tangible response. There was a singular and most unexpected outcome. The Rev. Varnum Lincoln, of Andover, Mass., writes in regard thereto: "On going, the morning after preaching the particular sermon, to the post-office for his mail, Mr. Miner found a package directed to him containing \$600, and in a few words, in the form of a hastily written scrawl, as though penned by some rude or unpractised hand, the request that the money should be used for missionary purposes. There was no signature to the writing, and after various attempts to find out the giver, Mr. Miner gave it up. And it remains a mystery to this day. He was very sure that it came from none of his own people, but rather from some stranger who had dropped accidentally into the meeting that evening. I have heard the Doctor relate this incident many times. And that \$600 became the beginning of our present State Convention Fund, as I think the books of its treasurer will show. The whole is a singular and interesting fact." The writer, living at the time in Ohio, saw in a Lowell paper a card by Mr. Miner, calling on the donor to make himself known, or at least to indicate more specifically his intent, adding that if no instructions were received by a

certain date, the gift would be invested as the nucleus of a fund in aid of a Home Mission under the auspices of the Boston Association of Universalists. The unknown, however, did not reveal either himself or his wish, and the gift was invested for the purpose which had been named. The writer believes that the six hundred dollars so mysteriously received antedates every gift or bequest made to the denomination in the interests of church extension. The Rev. M. E. Hawes informs the writer that in his youth he listened to a conversation between Mr. Miner and others of the clergy, in which he gave his impression that the six hundred dollars must have been "conscience money," and he was impressed by the circumstance that the time closely coincides with the notorious Parker murder in Manchester, N. H. Very soon a missionary society was formed : Mr. Miner becoming the secretary, or man of all work ; the Rev. John G. Adams his active co-worker. Rev. G. G. Strickland was its first missionary agent ; Rev. A. R. Abbott his successor. In 1848 Rev. G. H. Emerson succeeded Mr. Abbott. During his agency the Society was merged into the State Convention, and this act first connected the State Convention with Home Missions. All the while Mr. Miner was the working secretary and the efficient leader. It may be added that the "Mission" had its trophies, the most notable of which is the now large and flourishing parish on Cross Street in Somerville, whereof Rev. L. M. Powers is the successful pastor.

The other State Conventions fell into line, nearly every one soon having its distinctive missionary depart-

ment,— at this date a vital constituent,— and the trophies are scattered over the land, extending to Texas, the Pacific Slope, and the distant Northwest. It cannot be said that these organic expressions of the missionary spirit, always active in Universalist hearts, are to be credited to any one man. Dr. Miner's record is that of early and commanding leadership and co-operation. Possibly, had there been no Luther, his equivalent would have appeared. The Protestant Revolution in England might have been a reality even had there been no Cromwell. If God has a purpose, He provides the needful instrumentality. But history takes the fact as it comes, and A. A. Miner was a very conspicuous agent in developing the missionary enterprises of his church.

Early in its history, the Woman's Centenary Association began a missionary enterprise in Scotland, which it followed up with great determination. About ten years ago the denomination was led to feel that while all the other churches were operating missions in pagan lands, it must not stand out as an exception; and hence the Japan Mission began about seven years ago, its most active and efficient agent being the Rev. H. W. Rugg, D.D., of Rhode Island; its first missionary in the field, Rev. G. L. Perin, D.D. In regard to the Scottish and the Japan missions, Dr. Miner was somewhat tardy in his sympathy,— he certainly took no leading part; but are not both historic and logical outcomes of the first effective missionary movement?

Nearly forty years ago, leading ministers and laymen in Massachusetts — Rev. T. J. Sawyer, of New York, in

earnest sympathy and co-operation — began an earnest agitation looking towards the consolidation of the many periodicals, which in dividing the patronage made less efficient and less meritorious the literary agency for advancing the cause. The number of weekly papers was very great, out of all proportion to their support. The agitation soon took a more comprehensive form, — that of a Publishing House, to be operated exclusively in the interests of the denomination, the profits, whatever they might be or might become, to inure to the benefit of the cause, and not to any individual, except as employment was given to agents, editors, and clerks. It was hoped that by fair purchase an equitable arrangement could be made whereby existing plates and books and papers could be purchased, and the "good-will" of existing publishers be secured. The writer was present at several meetings of ministers and laymen held in an upper story on Washington Street, in which "ways and means" were carefully considered. Every plan included the forming of a stock company of a certain number of shares. The question was natural whether those who subscribed for stock would find it a safe investment. Nothing above the simple interest was desired or to be expected; the profits in excess were to be exclusively for the benefit of the denomination. Mr. Metcalf said truly: "This Society [the Boston Second] furnished the men who started and raised and backed the money to build up that Publishing House." If, however, the question is pressed, "What person in particular made the movement successful?" it can be answered; and the pivot

on which it turns was an utterance of just eight words. After long and careful discussion, in which the probability of escaping loss was considered, A. A. Miner arose and said: "Every dollar may be lost, *but who cares?*" The movement was successful from that moment.

CHAPTER XXVI.

SERVICE IN DEVELOPING DENOMINATIONAL INSTITUTIONS OF LEARNING.

IT would take a long chapter to give the particulars of Dr. Miner's work, next to that of his ministry his greatest, pertaining to the interests of education under the auspices of the Universalist denomination. What he did in this regard was, under the circumstances, truly vast. Of itself alone it would place him in the category of great men. In truth, had he no other record, if every particular given in the preceding pages were to be cancelled, his biography should still be written, and the chapters could be easily made to fill an octavo.

At the outset, justice to others requires the statement that his services as a leader in the starting and operating the Universalist institutions of learning do not include the work of pioneer. In the earlier records of the agitation which finally led to the endowing academies, colleges, and theological schools, his name does not appear, — could not appear, for at the date of the initial endeavors he was a youth. When, however, the time came for him to put his "shoulder to the wheel" there was unmistakable evidence that a new and mighty agency had come to the rescue. The symmetry of literary form might seem to require that Dr. Miner's achieve-

ments in the field of education as integral in the development of the Universalist church, should have a distinctive place in his biography unmixed with other matter. But, as appears, his pastorate in Boston and his offices in connection with certain Universalist academies and by great pre-eminence with Tufts College, make a strictly isolated sketch impossible. When it was seriously suggested that surgical skill should, if possible, separate the Siamese twins, a New York surgeon pronounced the separating not simply a physical impossibility, but added: "You cannot even think of them as apart." Generous gifts came from individuals in New York and in other places, in aid of the proposed college; but under the resistless influence of A. A. Miner the Second Universalist Society of Boston came to the great enterprise in no small degree as a society. The pastor infused his own spirit into his people, and in various ways of contribution and sympathy that Society gave the infant institution its official help. For at least a quarter of a century the college and the Society were in important regards a common interest. This record purposes to give the twofold history in separate statements as far as practicable, but the canons of "literary symmetry" will not be allowed to separate what the true history puts together.

It has been stated that the history of the Second Society has no place in this work save as respects the many particulars in which that history serves to set and exhibit the career of A. A. Miner as its minister. Even so, the history of the Education movement and achievement under Universalist auspices has no

place here save as respects the particulars in the lack of which Dr. Miner's life-work would have but a fractional, even mutilated description. How much this really means has been implied in the statement, that his education work has, in the order of importance and utility, a place second only to the Boston ministry.

The story of the Universalist schools is absolutely pathetic, — the story of a "struggle for existence," of many endeavors and not a few failures, of hopes deferred, hopes blasted, hopes at last, under endeavors truly heroic, to meet with fruition. "The child learns to walk by falling" — this quite familiar experience has served as an illustration of the law that good often comes out of evil; that failure frequently precedes, even presages, success; that every boon worth the having, like the Chief Captain's Roman citizenship, is obtained "with a great sum." If anything in history exemplifies this providential law it will be found in the annals of the founding of academies, colleges, and theological seminaries by the Universalists.

One particular of the struggle must have distinct and somewhat detailed statement, if justice is to be done to the pioneers of the Church schools and their immediate successors. It can be set in the light of history. When Catholic England became Protestant, the Catholics were moved out of the cathedrals, that the Protestants might move in. In taking England from the Papacy the Protestants — a general term for all who broke with Rome — took its institutions. The Anglican Church had no urgent occasion to found schools, a priesthood, or places of worship: these were

ready at hand. It is a fact of Unitarian history in New England, that it began by converting people in the mass, — by transposing the Calvinistic *congregation* into Unitarian, the houses of worship and all the accompaniments being part of the possession. With exceptions here and there, very few in number, such was *not* the beginning of American Universalism: seldom was a congregation voted Universalist; the bulk of Universalists were converted one by one. Nearly all of the earlier Universalists had been Baptists or Orthodox Congregationalists, at least believers in the Calvinistic creed. When a Universalist congregation was established, every member had an individual experience, and there were in the assembly all sorts of antecedents. When the Universalist denomination was established, the individuals, heretofore isolated, brought nothing, of course could bring nothing, in the shape of institutions with it; so far as they were concerned, the denomination was forced to “begin at the beginning.” At the outset provoking the bigoted opposition of the older sects, the Universalist avowed his new belief, to incur social ostracism, and to imperil even the means of subsistence. His was the faith everywhere spoken against, and hence not many of the worldly wise, not many born in luxury and trained to habits of ease and comfort, were of the number called. The great majority of Universalists two generations ago were of what is called the middle class, — neither very poor nor very rich; they were farmers and mechanics; men and women of sound common sense; industrious and respectable, but not refined in the

graces of the schools. Of course, there was the contingent that always follows in the wake of an unpopular movement, whose only interest in Universalism was in the one particular, described in a former chapter, that it was anti-Orthodox, soon to fall away and lose all interest when antagonism gave place to positive preaching and practical applications. Those who were drawn to Universalism because of what it was rather than of what it was not, were happy in deliverance from the fear that had torment, and to such it was indeed a message of glad tidings, and they heard the Word to exult in exceeding joy. It was not in the mental estate of such a people to apprehend the truth which comes only with experience, — that the enthusiasm of a new movement must inevitably recede; that nothing can subsist on a memory; that only those organizations are durable that are put on solid foundations and set to work; that the joy incident to accepting the gospel of redeeming love must have new occasions in new lines of endeavor; that a denomination resting simply on a record is a house built upon the sand; that if it would have a future it must have its equipment of cultured believers, and a ministry trained in the schools; that as an army must have its cadets and West Points, so an army of the Lord must have the leadership and service of scholars in both sacred and secular wisdom.

This explanation of a fact may go for what it is worth, — it is offered in the firm belief that it is worth very much; but a fact it is that when the announcement came from a very few of the leaders of Universalism that the extemporary wisdom which had well

answered an initial purpose, must be succeeded by the wisdom of professional training, the profound reason for making the announcement was not very generally apprehended. Too many of the people did not relish the change when, from the accustomed convention fare of sound doctrinal preaching, they were called off to hear an address on the necessity of establishing and endowing schools under the supervision of the denomination. They went to the convention to "hear the Gospel:" what means this switching off on to a different track; the need of an academy or of a college, which need included another, — the opening of their pocketbooks to aid in a form of endeavor the need of which they did not, were hardly willing, to understand? The shedding light upon this darkness, the creating of a new and novel interest, the substituting of endowed institutions in the place of schools depending on irregular and crude support, made the most painful, arduous, heroic work ever forced upon the leaders of Universalism. The particulars explain the statement already made that the story is "absolutely pathetic."

It is, however, needful to state, and in terms most explicit, that it was not education in its simple self that the Universalist leaders had in view. Had this been all, there would have been little occasion for their strenuous endeavor. There was no particular lack of academies, colleges, or divinity schools. These, however, without an exception, were managed under influences hostile to Universalism and the denomination. No sooner did a son or daughter of Universalist parents enter an academy than the attempt was made — often

directly, often indirectly — to “save the soul from the blighting error,” as Universalism was often designated. If the attempt failed, prejudice got its end by pointing out the heretical scholar as one to be shunned, — a persecution peculiarly cruel, often driving the victim from the school. Then in the plastic age the great influence of a teacher, particularly if his or her personality were at all fascinating, wrought the far greater mischief. It became the cumulative testimony of facts that Universalists sent their children to existing academies at the peril of their being educated to a dislike of the faith of their parents. Then, again, in educating young men for the ministry, it rarely happened that the student left a school in the faith with which he entered it. There were few even nominally unsectarian theological seminaries, — there were none, in fact. It was foreseen by the Universalist prophets — the number was not great — that Universalists must have academies, colleges, and theological seminaries of their own, or else the days of the denomination were numbered. Two or three decades would place it among the things that were, but which were no longer to have local habitation or name.

All honor and praise to the elect few who saw the situation in its true character, foresaw the indispensable need, confronted the almost superhuman difficulties, and, working against fearful odds, failing only to “try again,” being set back only to push on with new vigor, at last winning a victory more glorious than that of a Marengo or an Austerlitz.

In the concluding chapter of his History of “Univer-

salism in America,"¹ Dr. Richard Eddy gives in considerable detail a sketch of the great struggle, the character of which has been outlined. It began under limitations that made much success impossible, in Dudley, Mass., with what was called the "Nichols Academy," in 1814, having a brief career of less than a decade. It was reserved for New York to make the first endeavor under conditions that promised durability,—that of founding the Clinton Liberal Institute, the efficient agitation for which began in 1831, by Rev. Dolphus Skinner, seconded by Rev. A. B. Grosh. Dr. Eddy gives the chief place in this pioneership to Rev. Stephen R. Smith, and in this his testimony is confirmed by one who was very soon to be a leader of leaders in the State, both as regards the Institute and education under denominational control — Rev. Thomas J. Sawyer, D. D. — as these words are written, in honorable retirement on College Hill, Massachusetts, as Emeritus Dean of the Divinity Department of Tufts College, vigorous almost beyond precedent at the great age of ninety-two. Next in order came Westbrook Seminary in Maine, which was opened in June, 1834, having its incipency however in a resolution passed by the Kennebec Association as early as September, 1830. Dr. Eddy notes at least eighteen different academies, very few of which, however, were destined to more than an ephemeral existence. He includes in the category the School in Unity, N. H., begun in September, 1835, by Mr. Miner, adding that "the arrangements were made and the building erected by the Universalists of that place

¹ Vol. ii., chapter vi.

and vicinity," further adding that "the reason for its establishment was, as in other localities, a desire that the children of Universalist families might receive the advantages of education without being abused on account of the faith of their parents, or diverted from their studies by over-zealous sectarians."¹ With this exception no mention is made of A. A. Miner in this epoch of education; in fact when he began his work as a teacher in Unity, he was simply a precocious youth of less than twenty years. The agitation having a college in contemplation soon followed that which had led to a good degree of success for the academy.²

It is never an easy task to identify the initial word or act of any great movement: the attempt to fix the event which led to a union of the American Colonies is speculative rather than statistical. The elect few who foresaw the conditions of a durable denomination in the behests of Christian Universalism early felt, even if they did not very distinctly apprehend the fact, that the cause demanded a specially trained ministry, and this led to another feeling that gradually became a clear perception, that to this end schools managed by

¹ It is hoped that if they have not already done so, readers will inform themselves in the full sketch given in Dr. Eddy's work.

² Younger readers must not get the impression that there was an abrupt following of the College movement after that of the Academy. Certainly that of the Academy preceded, but it did not subside with the appearing of the higher grade. In fact, two of the best equipped of the Universalist academies — that of Goddard in Barre, Vermont, and that of Dean in Franklin, Mass., — had their origin in part in the discovered need of first class academies as "feeders" for the College. It was in the creating of these "feeders" that Dr. Miner, at a later date, rendered immense service, and took his place of leadership. Particulars will be given.

the denomination would ere long be a necessity. The whole matter was clear to such leaders as Thomas Whittemore, and particularly Hosea Ballou, 2d, (not to be confounded with his great-uncle, the first Hosea, of School Street fame), and Thomas J. Sawyer. But outside of a few the distinction between a college and a theological school was not very steadily kept in view. In fact, no small proportion of those who subscribed for a college, did so in the presumption that it was to educate ministers, — it was indeed this in part, as the college was to prepare young men for the professional school, — the impression, however, being very general that the college was to give the professional training. The confusion was in the minds of no small proportion of the earlier students in Tufts; on graduating, not a few of them regarded themselves as ready for ordination. This confounding of different things is matter of interesting history, for it may be doubted if the difficulty in raising funds for the college would not have been greater had the people seen in it simply a literary institution. Thomas J. Sawyer, a graduate of Middlebury College in Vermont, and the second Hosea Ballou saw both needs, and to them more than to any other persons is due the agitation that at last took effect. The writer of this was one of the immense congregation that heard Mr. Sawyer's sermon on occasion of the United States Convention of Universalists, held at Akron, Ohio, in September, 1843, in which he insisted that the time had passed when men might presume to "leap from the blacksmith's anvil to the pulpit;" that ministers must learn the art before attempting to preach. It was the

specially eloquent passage in a sermon that was eloquent and earnest in every sentence.¹

At a later date Mr. Sawyer was to supplement his words with an act which precedes all the acts as an efficient cause in the founding of Tufts College. Hosea Ballou, 2d, of Medford, Mass., never particularly demonstrative in speech, usually staid, reserved, dealing in words as if each had been carefully weighed, had become so thoroughly convinced that the future of Universalism, as a distinct constituent in the religious world, absolutely demanded institutions of learning and "at least one college," that the subject always moved him to impassioned utterance, and in him Thomas J. Sawyer, of New York, had a co-worker after his own heart. A correspondence in special reference to a college and a divinity school sprung up between these two men, the outcome of which was a circular sent out by Mr. Sawyer, reprinted in the Boston "Trumpet," calling an "Educational Convention,"

¹ Dr. Sawyer's record as a pioneer in the endeavor to bring Universalists to a sense of their duty, to see the peril of longer neglecting it, in the matter of education under their own auspices, is one of practice as well as of theory. In 1845, to the grief of his people, he gave up his pastorate in New York City, to take charge of the Clinton Liberal Institute, with a side enterprise of instructing theological students for the Universalist ministry, thereby forsaking a financial certainty for an experiment of uncertain support. Dr. Ballou had several students at his home, and other ministers had instructed young men and led them into the ministry, but Dr. Sawyer is the pioneer "professor" in the vocation. The latter added thirty-seven to the list of Universalist ministers, a good proportion of whom greatly honored the sacred vocation. His great service and special qualifications were at a later date recognized when he was offered the position of the first President of Tufts College, which, however, he felt impelled to decline, afterwards taking the office of Dean of the Theological Department of the same institution.

naming the Orchard Street Church as the place, and Tuesday, the 18th of May, 1847, the date. The response was most encouraging, the attendance being quite large, and inclusive of leading ministers and laymen, Messrs. Sawyer and Ballou of the number. It was unanimously voted that Universalists needed a college, and that an earnest effort be made to meet the necessity. It was also voted that a site for a college be selected in the Valley of the Mohawk or Hudson. A Board of fifteen trustees was elected. It was voted that as a minimum one hundred thousand dollars must be pledged before the work should begin. Further, the Convention voted that a Theological Seminary should also be established, the site to be left for later consideration. The Convention then adjourned to meet at the same place on Friday, September 16, of the same year.

There was a particular reason for naming that date. The United States Convention was to hold its annual session for that year — 1847 — in the same church, “coming to order” the Wednesday preceding. It is needless to add that it was the intention of the Educational Convention to take advantage of the presence of brethren who were to be called to the city by the General Convention, and of course in the expectation that the first meeting would “fire the Universalist heart” for the meeting of Friday.

If there was such an expectation it was to be made good by one of the ablest, most impressive, most eloquent, most effective sermons ever preached under Universalist auspices, and this from one who was more

of a Socrates than a Demosthenes, whose forte was not oratory, who was mighty with the pen rather than with the tongue. But he was full of the Educational Convention and its declared purpose, and the Demosthenic "afflatus" was given him for the occasion and the great opportunity. The writer of this took the number of "The Trumpet" containing the sermon to his then favorite resort by the banks of the Miami in Ohio, and as he read the last word it seemed as if he must be on the summit of the Mount of Transfiguration. Many others read it to report a similar impression. It was a tidal wave to float, and move to fruition, the barge of purpose which the Educational Convention of the preceding day had launched. It was the occasional sermon, and Rev. Hosea Ballou, 2d, was the preacher. The topic was "The Responsibility of Universalists," and the text, Luke xii. 48, "Unto whomsoever much is given, of him shall much be required; and to whom men have committed much, of him they will ask the more."

Mr. Ballou's reputation, as has been described, was that of remarkable wisdom, with the eloquence of character rather than of utterance. But those who heard him on that occasion testify that he spoke as if by authority, that the eloquence of speech was something rarely approached, that he seemed to his hearers as one whom they must obey, that he had the manner of one who had a message, and that woe was unto the hearer if he went away to forget what manner of man he was. The preacher pointed out one by one the solemn responsibilities, and as these were explained

and urged, the sermon grew massive in cumulative force, culminating in a passage, which not a few regard as the ideal of eloquence. This is the salient passage, italics being added : —

“Closely connected with the first of all our concerns, experimental and practical religion, is the duty of general culture in science, literature, taste, etc. As a matter of fact, permanent religious life has always been attended with corresponding activity in the cause of intellectual discipline and of human learning. So far as I have read, there never has been a Christian sect that succeeded in maintaining the former, for any long period, unless it diligently cherished the latter, — made liberal provisions for it, and labored in the work with untiring assiduity. *Where this has been neglected from the first to the last, the sect itself died out, dissolved, after two or three generations.* This, I believe, is the state of the case, as it stands in history. And the reason is obvious enough : this branch of culture belongs to that system of studious discipline which is indispensable to the continuance of any such body of men, *after the early season of spontaneous development* is past, as pass it must. If the lesson which the entire experience of the Church teaches, from the time of the apostles down, — if this has always been the law of Providence in the case, *we can hardly expect that it will be reversed in our favor.*

“Has not the time arrived, my brethren, — I do not say when it becomes our denomination to act in this cause, but *when it is dangerous any longer to neglect acting in it?* Have we not all felt that it was our duty, years ago? — that we had the means, and that we ought to have the work done? — that we needed, deeply needed, the fruits? It does not appear safe to remain in such a state of criminal inactivity. There are consequences growing out of it. We have already suffered some of the evils, in a form that may well alarm us : in the

want of regular mental discipline among those who must be our future teachers; and in the consequent flightiness of those lively imaginations that are among God's choicest gifts, were they but trained and balanced by any systematic education. 'These are the beginning of sorrows;' *the end is not yet*. We have suffered some of the consequences, too, in the well-known tendency among the more cultivated minds who once belonged with us, or whose families belonged with us, to seek other forms of religious ministration. We may declaim against the frivolousness of their motives, and sometimes, perhaps, with much justice; but I cannot help asking, Who is to blame, in the first place, for it? Why do we leave these powerful temptations to drive them away? Happy shall we be, if we take warning from these first signs of impending danger, and apply ourselves to the work of removing the offence. Otherwise, we need not be told that the evils will multiply with increasing rapidity, *till they end in 'the abomination of desolation.'*

"I beg your forbearance with the tone in which I speak. I do not know that it is proper. But the suggestions themselves are so plainly true that *I cannot suppress them*. I once indulged the confident expectation that I should live to see Universalists doing their duty in this cause,—founding well-endowed academies and at least one college, placed on a permanent basis. I have so long solaced myself with the anticipation of sharing in the work that it is hard, my brethren, *it is hard to part with all hope*. But the night is coming down, in which no man can work. *The shadows of age are already on these eyes; and nothing is done*. If we make no effort, it is like mere striving in a troubled dream. There is a nightmare on our limbs; the muscles will not move at our volition. *When shall we awake from our frightful slumber?* Shall we ever throw off the smothering incubus which has held us so long that it threatens death? . . . I speak the more plainly on this subject because I am confident, from

a long series of observations, that all which is necessary now for us to do, in order to begin a better state of things, is to lay this matter distinctly before the people, so as to fix their attention upon it. They are more ready to act than we are to give them a proper opportunity. Only touch the sleeping giant, and the night-mare spell is broken."

It is not difficult to believe that these Demosthenic words, spoken with the accents of a Jeremiah, were, next to the solemn declarations of the Educational Convention, an immediate and efficient cause of the institution on what is now College Hill about four miles from Boston, — by its elevation the most conspicuous institution of learning in New England, — that has taken on the proportions of a university. It is to be added that the corner-stone was laid in May, 1853, and that it was opened with Hosea Ballou, 2d, as President, in August, 1855.

To return to the Educational Convention, and to note its action of the Friday following the General or United States Convention. It may well be believed that the great sermon was an inspiration on that Friday. There were a few details of business, the principal of which was the putting into the field the Rev. Otis A. Skinner, "magnetic" in every lineament of his face and every accent of his voice, as the financial agent to raise the one hundred thousand dollars.

The main purpose was the having a college, — the place where, of course important yet quite secondary. But an opportunity, at the time not looked for, made it expedient to abandon the contemplated site in the Valley of the Mohawk. The possibility of a college more distinctly appeared in an offer made by the owner

of what at the time was called Walnut Hill, in Medford, Mass., close upon the Somerville line, by Mr. Charles Tufts of Somerville. This gentleman pledged twenty acres of the hill to be the college site. It was afterwards said that from the first agitation he was "possessed" with the idea that it was to be the college grounds. His saying became habitual: "I am going to have light on that hill!" His premonition was destined to become a great reality.

In the year 1847 Alonzo A. Miner was in the fifth year of his Lowell pastorate, just past his thirty-first year. It must have been that this college agitation had reached him; that he was pondering it in his heart; that he had some premonition that he was to have a responsible part in the great undertaking. But his name so far does not appear in any phase of the movement. He was a young man, unwittingly biding his time. No attempt will be made here to describe the fearful obstacles that had to be overcome in raising the "minimum," in educating the people to so novel a thing as "giving," particularly for a college, in opening their eyes to the imperative necessity, in making them feel the disastrous character of failure in the undertaking. It was the fortune, now remembered as an event, of the writer to accompany Rev. Mr. Skinner in not a little of his touring over the County of Essex, of hearing him plead for hundreds, being made happy if he got tens; and this was his experience everywhere, save in a few cases of his solicitation. Footsore, weary, hoping against hope, yet never disheartened, the financial agent went up and down the land, till at last, by subscribing three thousand dollars, with the reserved privilege of making it

good by a later canvass, he made the announcement at a meeting of the subscribers which he had summoned, and which was held in the vestry of the Warren Street Universalist Church, Boston, September 16, 1851, — the annual session of the United States Convention being the opportunity, — that the “minimum” was pledged. The corner-stone was laid, Hosea Ballou, 2d, the mason for the hour, on the 18th of May, 1853, the orator of the day being by what in these days would be called a natural selection, — Alonzo A. Miner, who, during Mr. Skinner’s canvass, had not only been found out, but with voice, heart, and fervor had come to the front and taken a place of a leader soon to be that of the leadership. At little more than two years later, in August, 1855, the College was opened by due ceremony, with — Rev. Mr. Sawyer having declined the honor — Rev. Hosea Ballou, 2d, as President.¹

¹ The history here given of college enterprise under Universalist auspices is restricted to the East. It must not, however, be permitted to eclipse the movement which led to and established Lombard University in Galesburg, Ill. Dr. George S. Weaver, in his “Biography of Dr. J. H. Chapin,” on pp. 46-47, says: —

“In a letter written to Dr. Chapin, Nov. 21, 1884, by Professor Standish, he said: ‘The Act of Incorporation of the Illinois Liberal Institute was approved Feb. 15, 1851. The charter was amended Jan. 26, 1853, at which time college powers were granted. The charter was again amended Feb. 14, 1857. The bequest of Mr. Lombard was made a long time before this date, but we had to await the biennial session of the legislature for the contemplated change of name. The charter was again amended Feb. 21, 1861, and finally in the spring of 1868.’ Thus was inaugurated the first college of the modern Universalist Church.” On page 42 of the Chapin Biography is an account of the initial movement of Universalist educational work in the West. Lombard was the first college in that movement. On page 52 is a record of the graduation of Chapin’s class in 1857 — the second class to graduate. So the first class graduated in 1856. Mr. P. R. Kendall states that college classes were organized from the beginning, in 1852, of students who had come in from Knox College.



PAICE HALL AND MINER HALL.

CHAPTER XXVII.

SERVICE IN THE DEVELOPMENT AND ESTABLISHMENT
OF TUFTS COLLEGE.

THE preceding chapter traces the history of educational movements under the auspices of the Universalist denomination up to the opening of Tufts College, the name of A. A. Miner not appearing until the ceremonial of the laying of the corner-stone in May, 1853. There had been an indefinite period of sporadic talk on the need of a college, with some achievements in academic enterprises prior to 1847, and there had been, as has been detailed, a succeeding period of about six years of systematic, persistent, and heroic endeavor, with tangible realization, with no mention of Mr. Miner's co-operation. Just when he took the matter seriously to heart does not appear; probably he himself could not have given the definite, even the approximate, date. It is obvious, however, that no one could have been selected to give the address—the principal part of the service—at the laying of the corner-stone who so far had been indifferent to the enterprise. The writer was present in the Warren Street vestry when the subscribers to the College Fund assembled in response to the call of the financial agent, Rev. Otis A. Skinner; and he distinctly recalls the entrance, and the going to

the front as if that were his place, of A. A. Miner; and for some reason not wholly clear, there was to the mind of the writer the thought that his slow and dignified step meant something quite special to the purpose. Yet he did not speak on the occasion, and the printed minutes show that he was not put on any committee. He began his ministry in Boston about a year after the first meeting of the "Educational Convention" in New York, and about eight months after the second Ballou's epochal sermon before the United States Convention. He was therefore in Boston, in close touch with most of the leaders of the college movement, during nearly the whole canvass conducted by Mr. Skinner. Did any one ever know of his being "in touch" with any great denominational movement without actually touching it, making his hand felt to some purpose? H. B. Metcalf, in his address on the occasion of the "Social Parish Union," confessing that he did not know "who made the first movement in behalf of Tufts College," is safely confident in adding that "Tufts College did not move but a very short distance until School Street Church took hold and put in some of the largest contributions that ever went in." It is certain that School Street Church had, with one exception, done very little in the way of large contributions until A. A. Miner was its responsible pastor. Silvanus Packard had evidently made an installment of his great aggregate gift before he could have particularly "felt" the influence of his pastor. It is safe to say that in the total financial support given the College by members of the Society worshipping in School Street, the associate pastor was the principal

influence acting on the Society. When, in 1840, Marcus Morton was elected Governor of Massachusetts by a majority of one, it became a humorous remark by many who gave him their vote, "I elected Marcus Morton!" Each link in the chain may say, "I pulled the load;" "I held the ship in the storm." Humanly speaking, it does not now seem that there could have been a Tufts College but for T. J. Sawyer, or H. Ballou, 2d, or O. A. Skinner, or Charles Tufts, and this in no such humorous sense as that of each voter for Mr. Morton claiming that he "did it," for as respects these men the help given was crucial. Humanly speaking, and in a sense quite dominant, there had been no Tufts College but for the Boston Second Society of Universalists, with A. A. Miner inspiring it and leading it to the decisive effort. But of the number deserving individual mention, Mr. Miner was the youngest and the latest worker in the incipency of the institution.

First of all, it is to be mentioned, and as in part a key to his prestige, that Mr. Miner did not make an appeal to his people for money to start, or, later, to carry on, the College, without heading the subscription list with his own name, and with an offering as large as he solicited of others, his means and income being considered. Such men as Silvanus Packard,¹ Oliver Dean, and Thomas A. Goddard could never simply look on when they saw their beloved pastor taking the efficient lead.

¹ Mr. Packard's name has such prominence as a benefactor of Tufts College that it may be well to note that his own spelling of his given name was in accord with the Scriptural model.

On the occasion of the formal opening, the exercises included a banquet. Mr. R. M. Yale, who was and yet is in full sympathy with the denomination, put in position at the base of the hill his enormous tent, which for years was a "feature" of out-of-door banquet occasions, and he did it with a will. Mr. J. D. W. Joy, quite a youth, made his "first appearance" in the character which he was often to sustain in subsequent years, as an overseer of the general proceedings. Rev. Thomas Whittemore presided. After the dinner, Rev. O. A. Skinner improved the opportunity to state the great financial needs of the youthful college, and his appeal for funds met with considerable success. The particular, however, for which this brief reference to the banquet prepares the way, was the incident of Mr. Packard's enthusiasm and repeated gifts,—his spontaneous tribute to the influence of his pastor in opening the pocket-books of his people, himself particularly included, in aid of the Universalist College. Mr. Miner was thirty-nine years of age; but every one of the immense throng under that tent saw that, though unheard of at the Educational Meeting of 1847, except in the immediate sphere of his labors, he was a leader—may it not be said without unjust discrimination, the leader?—of the principal denominational movement.

The "day of small things" as respects the college was not in the *quality* of its work. The limitations were all *numerical*. Its faculty was limited in number. The scholars were limited in number. The endowment was limited indeed—was simply a bond from Silvanus Packard, the yearly interest of which did not exceed a

thousand dollars. The assets were the college building and the boarding-house, nearly everything — particularly library and apparatus — yet to be obtained. The saying of President Garfield, — which, of course, no one will interpret in rigid literalism, — that no college is better equipped than a log with the student at one end and Mark Hopkins at the other end, would have been equally true had the name of Hosea Ballou, 2d been in the place of that of Mark Hopkins. President Ballou and his few associates — including the living and yet active Prof. John P. Marshall and the late Prof. Benjamin F. Tweed — made the so-called College a college in fact, and of the graduates that went from their instruction the full average proportion were destined to rise to high places in the State, the Church, and the professions. The six years of President Ballou's administration made an heroic epoch in the annals of the College, yes, of education, if ever the word "heroic" had a just application. But what could a thousand dollars a year and meagre tuition fees have done had there been no help from without? Two men were doing what they could to establish bases of supplies, — Otis A. Skinner and Alonzo A. Miner. Mr. Skinner at an early date was drawn by a serious business exigency to the West: Mr. Miner worked on through years of anxious struggle, soon to become the Napoleon of the battle with growing and complicated difficulties, — the Napoleon, however, without the Waterloo. The writer had his home during President Ballou's administration about midway between "the Hill" — as the site of the college was and yet is frequently designated — and Boston, and naturally he

at times became a "bearer of despatches" from the Hill to the city, and the message was always to A. A. Miner. Mr. Charles Tufts was a near neighbor, and on two occasions, one of extreme importance—for it pertained to the conveyance of an addition to his former gift of land—the writer was requested to take the important word to the man whose name had in the general thought got to be in some measure a synonym of the institution.

Meanwhile there was a systematic endeavor to get means to meet the current expenses. An organization called "The Tufts College Educational Association" was formed February 7, 1855, at a meeting called for the purpose in the vestry of the School Street Church—of course in that Universalist stronghold. It originally consisted of twenty members. Its rules provided that every minister should become a member whose Society paid into its treasury thirty-five dollars a year, that any Auxiliary Society paying thirty-five dollars yearly should have the right of representation by one delegate, or two delegates if it paid fifty dollars yearly. "Of course" the President and man of nearly "all work" could be no other than A. A. Miner. The Association, antedating by a few months the formal opening, was most helpful in preventing the door of the College from being shut. The Universalist ministers of Boston and vicinity had informal meetings every Monday, usually at the store of Abel Tompkins, 38 Cornhill, and the repeated interviews with them by Mr. Miner usually had one supreme object,—the raising of money to sustain the college through the "Educational Association." With the care

of a large parish, the duties of which he could not neglect, where he got the strength and how he got the time to put such constant and exacting work into the endeavor to keep the college in operation, passes ordinary comprehension. Benjamin Franklin's "magnetism" and dogged industry in getting loans from the royal treasury of France to meet the obligations incurred by the Continental Congress, are set down by his latest biographer as one of the insoluble mysteries. Tufts opened its doors to students in 1855. The doors would have been closed, perhaps in hopeless failure, in less than two years, but for the "magnetism" and mysterious industry of its Franklin in the person of Alonzo A. Miner. A very few pages, of which this is one, tell in baldest terms a story which, if it stood all alone, would still entitle Dr. Miner to a monument; in fact, the story is a monument, and all who deem Tufts College a great honor to and support of the Universalist denomination, should hold his name in perpetual remembrance, and be grateful to God that in the hour of extreme peril He raised up such a leader.

The College, however, was laboring against fearful odds. The "Struggle for Existence" — the apt phrase for which much is due to Charles Darwin — through which nearly every enterprise of pith and moment must pass was literally desperate with the institution on what was then called Walnut Hill. And, as if the normal difficulties were not enough, the war came on, depressing for a while all industries except those which the dread exigency made needful; shaking the confidence which grows slowly and returns timidly; thinning out the

classes, for the young men, hearing the call for volunteers to save an imperilled country, could not repress the instinct of patriotism ; and the raising of revenue for current expenses meeting with new difficulty. And right in the juncture when his great and unselfish service could be so poorly spared, President Ballou fell in death. Absolutely, in the trying contingency but one man could save the College ; and he could do it only by stepping into the place which Dr. Ballou's death had made vacant, adding to the labors of a class the monster task of lifting the institution out of its financial embarrassments, — and rendering all this service without money and without price ! Yet that one man was the pastor of a large parish, and the parish could not entertain the thought of his withdrawal. Respecting some of the particulars Dr. Miner must be permitted to describe the situation. In his address on the "Seventy-Fifth Anniversary," so often made available, he said : —

"Initial steps in the founding of a college were taken in 1847. The result at length was the establishment of Tufts on yonder beautiful hill. Its first president, Rev. Dr. Ballou, known as Hosea Ballou, 2d, or more familiarly as "Cousin," a grand-nephew of Hosea Ballou, your pastor, deceased May 27, 1861, — a great loss to the college and to our general church. From various untoward circumstances the condition of the college was unsatisfactory. Some students had enlisted in the war. The number in attendance did not exceed forty. Moreover, its financial condition was well-nigh desperate. Aside from the meagre receipts from tuition, the only income was a thousand dollars interest on a bond of Mr. Silvanus Packard, a member of this parish. The college was eighteen thousand dollars in debt, and was increasing its

indebtedness at the rate of about five thousand dollars a year. At an informal meeting of the parish, held June 1, 1862, the late Dr. T. K. Taylor being moderator, and the Hon. Newton Talbot, clerk, Thomas A. Goddard offered the following preamble and vote, which were adopted: —

“ ‘Whereas, it is understood that the Trustees of Tufts College are desirous that our pastor, Rev. A. A. Miner, should become the President of this Institution, devoting a portion of his time to it, without salary, and without interrupting his connection with this society, —

“ ‘*Voted*, That in view of the present condition of our country and the financial condition of the college, we hereby give our cordial assent to this arrangement.’

“Thus the parish supported its pastor for three and a half years, and allowed him to give the greater part of his time gratuitously to the college. This arrangement lasted, save as respects the salary, more than a dozen years, — the pastor generally preaching, during the early part of this period, one sermon to the society and one to the college, every Sunday, giving instruction in the College on four days of the week, and attending to parish work in spare hours. During the last five of these years he had material assistance.

“Of course, I soon set about raising money, and my first urgent appeal was to my own parish, securing a noble response. That appeal was made Oct. 4, 1863, and the contribution amounted to \$15,510.56, of which Thomas A. Goddard gave ten thousand. This example made possible the raising of considerable sums elsewhere. The State appropriated fifty thousand dollars. William J. Walker, M. D., who had never been known as a sympathizer with our body, called me to visit him at Newport, R. I., giving me ten thousand dollars at one time, twenty thousand dollars at another, and finally bequeathing to the college a large fraction of his great estate. Oliver Dean, M. D., and Silvanus Packard, Esq., both mem-

bers of this parish, also left legacies to the college, — the latter, of several hundred thousand dollars.

“Of course, this double duty was found very onerous. March 14, 1864, the parish, after a conference with the pastor, by a unanimous vote, assured him that their ‘love and affection continued unabated,’ and that they ‘desired him to remain as pastor of the Society.’ To this end, it was proposed that he be expected to preach but once each Sunday, the College meeting the supply for the other service, to which the College ‘cordially agreed.’ This arrangement was adopted.”

It will be remembered that the chapter on the pastorate on School Street explains that the giving of Dr. Miner an associate, on whom much of the pastoral and preaching duties were to be placed, had its occasion in this serious exigency in the affairs of the College. But what an example of unselfish devotion to the supreme need of the denomination does the recorded vote of the Second Society attest! Did this Society have the exceptional wisdom to see the great need of a college; or did the exceptional generosity and self-forgetfulness that prompted the vote come to it by instinct? Or had it been trained, influenced, led to respond to its great opportunity to serve itself by forgetting itself in the presence of a more comprehensive need? And if so, by whom? Tufts College had friends outside of Boston, a few outside of New England; but so vitally was the institution dependent on the Boston Church that, for the time, the thought of the one includes the thought of the other, and the bond of union was Alonzo A. Miner.

The ceremonial of Mr. Miner's inauguration as Presi-

dent of Tufts College was set for Wednesday, July 9, 1862. It opened with music and proceeded as follows: prayer, Rev. Thomas J. Greenwood; music; presentation address, Rev. Lucius R. Paige, D. D.; reply, President Miner; music; oration in Latin, Henry Lyon of the Senior Class; music; inaugural address, President Miner; concluding prayer, Rev. Charles H. Leonard; doxology; benediction.

In his address the new President reiterated the reasons that had led to the establishment of Tufts. There were other institutions of the same grade; but he was persuaded that he might say of all that they were under sectarian control; "they are not doing *our* work;" they "do not reach our young men." "This can alone be done by institutions born of our own loves; nurtured by the sweat of our own brows; sustained by our own efforts; enriched by our own sacrifices; and consecrated by the blessing of Almighty God through our own prayers." There were, he estimated, not less than a hundred and fifty thousand persons in New England who are either directly or indirectly connected with Universalists as a religious people, and for the higher culture of these provision should be made, and a college under Universalist auspices will tend to awaken among them "a nobler ambition for sound learning." It was his hope that Tufts, doing its work, would take its place as the peer of the twenty other colleges in New England, each doing *its* work. Kindly and paternal words were spoken to the students now intrusted to his care, and appreciative and encouraging words were spoken to the members of the Faculty with whom he

was to be professionally associated. In terms at once special and comprehensive, the address was most fitting,—itself a proof that the new incumbent was worthy of the high and solemn trust.

Taking an office which, under the most favoring conditions, is one of vast and varied responsibility, he did not discover, for he had foreseen, that to the customary work of the presidency he was to add labors of a far more exacting and serious character. In customary phrase, terse but not elegant, he was not only to “run a college,” but to put it on wheels and furnish the motor, in order that it might be in a condition to be “run.” The “Educational Association” could at the best be but the expedient of a transition stage. If something approximating an adequate endowment could not be secured, the College would at an early day end in humiliating failure. “Of course I soon set about raising money” was Dr. Miner’s statement at the “Seventy-fifth Anniversary.” It was, indeed, “of course.” And it was a King’s business that demanded haste. And Dr. Miner was a minister! “What do ministers know about business?” Yes, he was a minister; but if the implied lack is real, he was to show that he was a minister and more. Men of wealth are so persistently and often impertinently pursued by canvassers with subscription-books in hand, and the “beneficent purpose” so often proves to be visionary and even fraudulent, that not inexcusably they look askance and turn a deaf ear when their checks are solicited: and when they condescend to listen, they hear with their judgment rather than with their ears. To such men it must be radiantly

apparent that he who seeks their aid has a serious mission that has no covertly selfish end in view, that he has a thorough and judicial comprehension of the enterprise he seeks to further, and that the accomplished gentleman is in their presence. That Dr. Miner was all that is here detailed is self-evidenced in the circumstance that such a man as William J. Walker, M. D., who was not a Universalist, nor in any avowed sympathy with the denomination, not only gave him an interested hearing, but at once responded,—at first with ten thousand dollars, then with twenty thousand, and finally with the magnificent bequest of two hundred thousand! In another chapter particulars are given of his success before a legislative committee, and through it with the legislature itself, in procuring a State appropriation of fifty thousand dollars, which, coupled with conditions that were complied with, meant a hundred thousand and quite a number of scholarships. Mr. Thomas A. Goddard was a Universalist in every fibre of his soul, but he was not a man to yield to persuasive arts. It was only needful that he be convinced that a call was entitled to his favorable consideration. But of course he was ever under judicial influence. He felt Dr. Miner because he understood him, and he understood him because he felt him. In candor the writer must confess that he has no proof that Mr. Goddard's interest in the College did not antedate his pastor's influence. He took an empty treasury in charge, but the bills were paid! What Mr. Goddard was and is to the College will appear to any one who visits College Hill and enters the beautiful Chapel and the spacious

and well-furnished Gymnasium; but what is there seen is but in part. Mr. Packard and Dr. Dean had amassed their fortunes by a business sagacity that could easily penetrate a sham to its core. They also both felt and saw and saw and felt Dr. Miner, and their massive gifts came with willing, even enthusiastic, hearts. And so of others.

It belongs to this history to make some statement of what Tufts College owes Dr. Miner through his personal gifts and the gifts and bequests of his people, members of his parish. Precise figures cannot be given, but the following in round numbers does not overstate the facts. These are the totals, in some of the instances the gifts coming in what may be called instalments: Silvanus Packard, \$280,000; Oliver Dean, \$100,000; Mr. and Mrs. Thomas A. Goddard, \$43,000; H. B. Pearson, \$50,000 (\$25,000 a direct gift, \$25,000 for "Bromfield-Pearson School," as a department of the College); Edwin Howland, \$10,000; Dr. Miner, \$43,000 (mainly for "Miner Hall"); others, \$10,000. Here is a not over-estimated total of five hundred and thirty-six thousand dollars from a single parish. Is it needful to add that Dr. Miner and the Society which felt his influence and responded to his call were, by immense pre-eminence, the principal factor in the financial strength of Tufts College?

Colleges are never rich, for with the growth of endowments their work and the costs of their work increase; and like national fortresses colleges are never finished. They grow, and with facilities perpetually grow. When Dr. Miner passed the presidency over to

his successor, he had taken the college through the Darwinian "struggle for existence;" though, in view of coming financial convulsions and serious shrinkage in the funds, the College was not out of perils that made most imperative energetic and discreet management. There was, however, after his third year no longer occasion for him to give gratuitous service, and the church on School Street was relieved of its great financial and gratuitous burden.

Stern necessity compelled President Miner to repress a natural ambition to greatly add to the facilities of the College, but the struggle to exist rigidly, necessarily excluded the incurring of increased expense, except as the endeavor to save what is, often makes it needful that there be additions thereto. And it not infrequently happens that in order to keep an institution intact certain vital supplements must be secured.¹ A dormitory was an indispensable adjunct, and this under the name of "West Hall" was erected, and it was the only building added to the institution while Dr. Miner was in charge. There were a few indispensable additions to the curriculum,—a Philosophical Course and a Department of Engineering, the Walker Special

¹ The appearance, almost contemporary with the writing of this chapter, of a History of Tufts College, was most opportune, and for several particulars in this and the preceding chapter the author is under obligations to that portly and truly magnificent octavo. The following is the full title-page: "History of Tufts College. Published by the Class of 1897. Editor in chief, Alarie Bertram Start. Associate Editors: Lem G. Blanchard, Franklin B. Williams, J. B. W. Day, Rolla E. Healey, Stephen C. Mitchell, Edith L. Hodge, Georgia L. Hodgdon, Flint M. Bissell, R. Waldo Place. Business Manager, Warren S. Parks. Assistant Business Manager, E. J. Hewitt."

Instruction in Mathematics, a Special Chair in Oratory, a Chair of Physics and Astronomy, filled by Prof. A. E. Dolbear, — who brought to the College a high prestige which has never been impaired, — and extensions of other departments. The library began by President Ballou increased to about fourteen thousand volumes, a fund in its aid, of twelve hundred dollars, being given by John D. W. Joy. The number of scholars slowly but sensibly increased. The college grounds were greatly enlarged by gifts from Charles Tufts and Thomas Cotting, and college societies and clubs multiplied. And there was the incipency of college publications,—the “Tuftonian” soon attaining high rank on the score of literary merit. These varied expansions and additions, most creditable under the serious limitations, are, however, quite secondary when considered in connection with the truly marvellous achievement in procuring for the College the absolutely indispensable endowment; this by immense precedence makes the Miner trophy.

Dr. Miner’s Chair was the twofold one of Ethics and Political Economy, and his faculty for making these abstruse studies luminous and for evoking an enthusiasm on the part of the student, is testified to by those who occupied the benches. Many years ago the biographer, in attendance upon a meeting of the Sabbath School Union in the Roxbury church, listened with others enrapt as Dr. Miner expounded the mysteries of occult rule under the Divine government. The topic was not exactly in accord with the one on the programme, but this did not matter, for he often touched the risibles of his hearers by making what happened to be in his mind

rather than what was on the printed order, his "theme of discourse." Political economy was the basis of illustration. How happens it that every day is brought to market just what the needs of the day demand, the lack or the excess being quite trivial? How happens it that, with of course occasional exceptions, the merchant knows how large a stock to put upon his shelves? How happens it that a half million people in a metropolis are fed and clothed and housed, and supplied with numberless necessities and comforts, with relatively little waste? Who can see the process? Yet a process there is — not the less real because occult. By the same process, impalpable to touch or outward vision, God clothes the grass and feeds the sparrow, and ministers to the physical wants of beast and the spiritual needs of man. And so the speech went on, unravelling and retwisting the several threads, following a definite idea through devious paths, in the end making all clear and inspiring. To this day it lives in the memory like the rhythm and strains of an oratorio; the memory revives when the graduate of the earlier years tells of his recitations with President Miner in the chair.

The writer never heard Dr. Miner in the class-room, but has distinct memory of his intelligent appreciation of the French philosopher Jouffroy, the disciple of Cousin, and if his teaching was after the manner of Jouffroy, he sharply distinguished between the facts of sense and the facts of consciousness, upon the latter of which alone a true, non-commercial theory of ethics can be based. If he was as clear with the young men as he

was with others, he fully merits the encomiums paid him by those who took formal instructions from him.¹

In October, 1869, and hence during Dr. Miner's presidency, the Divinity School was opened. Mr. Packard's munificence provided for a Theological Professorship, but beyond this the department had no endowment until the late Rev. Dr. W. H. Ryder left it by will \$32,356, and in 1894 Mr. Samuel F. Woodbridge of Cambridge provided for a Chair of Applied Christianity, now filled by Rev. Warren S. Woodbridge. Beyond this, the Divinity School has no funds, the means of support being appropriated by the College. Rev. Thomas J. Sawyer, D. D., at the time the most distinguished scholar in the denomination, was made Dean of the School, supported by the Packard bequest. Dr. Miner's full sympathy with the School, shown from the first, was attested in 1891, by his giving a bond for forty thousand dollars for the erecting of a much needed building for

¹ Doubtless the condensed outline given in the text, of President Miner's administration, so far as regard is had to the college facilities and his felicity as an instructor are considered, is sufficient for the purposes of a biography. Yet if more is needful the biographer is relieved of the necessity of writing out the particulars, inasmuch as they are furnished by others far better informed. At the "Miner Memorial" held in Columbus Avenue Church, Sunday evening, November 10, 1895, Rev. John Coleman Adams, D. D., a student in the college during Dr. Miner's presidency, gave the "Memorial Address," which among many pertinent things, included such an estimate of the President's teaching ability as only an appreciative student can form. He was followed by Dr. Elmer H. Capen, Dr. Miner's successor as President of Tufts College, who, taking up the reins that were laid down, became better acquainted with the total of President Miner's work than any other person can possibly be. His topic was "Dr. Miner as a Factor in Education." A verbatim and authorized report of all the addresses of the occasion was published in The "Christian Leader" of November 21. It is reprinted in the Appendix to this volume.

the use of the School, now known as "Miner Hall," his offer being conditioned upon the raising of \$12,000 for the erecting of an accompanying dormitory. Rev. C. H. Leonard, D. D., now Dean of the School, succeeded in the task of raising the specified sum, which dormitory is now in use. It is named "Paige Hall," in honor of Rev. Lucius B. Paige, D. D., author of "Selections from Eminent Commentators," and a "Commentary on the New Testament." As noted in a preceding chapter, he deceased September 3, 1896, at the great age of 94 years. The School with a Faculty of exceptional ability and scholarship has made itself felt as a power in the denomination, no small proportion of efficient and successful ministers having received their instruction and discipline from its Chairs. The College has yet other Departments,¹ but particulars in regard to them

¹ "Although the Divinity School was not opened until the College had been established some fifteen years, the movement which led to its existence was a part of the same agitation in which the College itself had its origin. As has been previously stated, the Educational Convention of 1847 resolved on the establishment of a Theological School as well as of a College, recommending that the latter be located in New York State and the former in Massachusetts. When, however, owing to the munificence of Massachusetts men, Walnut Hill was decided upon as the site of the College the New York Universalists thought the Divinity School should come to them. Thus the intention to establish a college in New York and a divinity school in Massachusetts was reversed, and resulted in the founding of Tufts College and Canton Theological School. . . . But Mr. Packard, the largest benefactor of the College, was strong in his desire that the Trustees should establish and maintain out of the rents and profits of his estate, a Professorship of Christian Theology. To this provision was due directly the origin of Tufts Divinity School." — *History of Tufts College*, p. 77.

"The Medical School of Tufts College, Albert Nott, M.D., Dean, was established in 1898 [eighteen years after the presidency had passed into the hands of Dr. Capen]. It offers to women the same facilities that it offers to men. Since the school was opened its corps of instructors has

do not, at least directly, pertain to President Miner's administration.

The time had come when an election must be made between the college presidency and the pastorate in Boston. For reasons given in the chapter on the Columbus Avenue section of his ministry, he, to the reluctance of the trustees of the College and the grateful relief of his parish, decided to remain in Boston and resume the full duties of preacher and pastor. His resignation of the presidency was given to the board on the 3d of Decem-

been considerably enlarged, its clinical advantages have been increased, and it offers every opportunity needed for undergraduate study, and in many directions for graduate study and research. The school is temporarily located at 188 Boylston Street, in the city of Boston, in a building belonging to the college. In the coming year it is expected that new and more commodious quarters, especially adapted for the purposes of a medical school, will be provided. The present building is directly opposite the Public Gardens, and within a few steps of Park Square, one of the great street-car centres of the city, making it convenient to all the hospitals, dispensaries, and public buildings, and the railway stations.

"The Bromfield-Pearson School, Gardner C. Anthony, A. M., Dean, is a department of Tufts College, designed to provide a special course of technical instruction to such as may be qualified by previous education and maturity of mind to fit for either of the engineering courses of the College in one year, or to pursue with equal advantage the special two-years' course of the school. The building is three-story, 100 × 50 feet, comprising drafting and recitation rooms, offices, and shops, for conducting the special courses of the school, and the department of drawing and shopwork in the College. The drafting-rooms are three in number, and separated from the noise and vibration of the shops. Abundant and uniform light is provided, rooms on the upper floor having large skylights on the northerly side. There is a forge, moulding, pattern, and machine shop. These are equipped with modern tools and in the most approved manner. Each student is provided with a separate bench, tools, forge, lathe, etc. A twenty-five horse-power Buckeye engine furnishes the motive power for the shop, and also serves for experimental work in the study of the steam-engine. One room is set apart as a study for such of the students as do not room at the College, and others who desire to prepare their lessons at the building."—*Catalogue of Tufts College*, 1895-96.

ber, 1874, he remaining, however, in active service as a member of the executive committee of the trustees. In accepting the resignation the following minute—merited in every particular, excepting the one that gives a too early date to Dr. Miner's participancy in the college movement—was prepared by the committee to whom the resignation was referred, and was unanimously adopted by the board,—it is taken here from the new "History of Tufts College":—

"In receiving this day a communication from Rev. Alonzo A. Miner, D.D., resigning the office of president of the College, we would unanimously express and place on record our acknowledgment of the zeal, ability, and faithfulness with which he has served the Corporation. From the moment the movement was made to establish a college under the auspices of the Universalist Church, the institution has had in him a steadfast, devoted, and efficient friend. We think it may be affirmed with truth, without disparagement of any who may be reckoned among the patrons and founders of Tufts College, that no one has contributed in so many different ways to its growth and prosperity. He was one of the very first to declare its needs and present its claims to the public.

"The College has had many generous and noble benefactors, yet perhaps no one has done more than he to give it financial foundation and success. Mainly through his instrumentality some of its amplest endowments have been secured. Not alone from his pulpit and in familiar intercourse with his parishioners, but in broader fields where his reputation for prudence and business sagacity has commanded a respectful hearing, he has again and again called the attention of those who value sound learning and Christian culture to the wants of our College with an emphasis that has brought golden gifts to its treasury.

"Nor has he been less successful in its chartered rights and legal privileges than in its financial interests. He has pleaded its cause before legislative committees with a dignity and logical force that have secured for it all the immunities of an institution whose plan is as universal as human learning. He was ever the moving cause that enrolled the State among its patrons.

"By his extensive fame and commanding talents, moreover, he has done not a little to obtain for the College the widest public recognition, and to give it an honorable place among other and older institutions of a similar class.

"Upwards of thirteen years ago, the office of president of the College became vacant by the death of the late Hosea Ballou, 2d, D.D. Yielding to the solicitation of this board, Dr. Miner laid the Corporation under a new obligation by consenting to fill the vacant chair. During the entire period that has intervened, at great personal inconvenience and sacrifice, — for three years without pecuniary compensation, — he has discharged the duties of the office with honor to himself and to the satisfaction and pride of nearly every friend of the institution. Under his administration the College has advanced from comparative weakness to more than ordinary strength. The sphere of its usefulness has been greatly extended, and a large measure of freshness and vigor has been infused into all the departments of its work. Not only have its own members felt the stimulus of his powerful intellect, but the members of other institutions have been taught to regard with unwonted admiration the young College which could boast a head so illustrious.

"While, therefore, with unfeigned reluctance we accept the resignation which he has tendered this day, and which we would have averted, if possible, we deem it but just to record our thanks for these and other services which he has rendered to the work with which this board is intrusted."

After a brief interim, native fitness, tested devotion to the interests of the institution and to Universalism, scholarly acquirements, the consideration that he was a graduate of Tufts, and the petition of the Faculty, led to the election of the Rev. Elmer Hewitt Capen; and on the second day of June, 1875, he was inaugurated president of Tufts College by due ceremonial. The results of an administration of over two decades attest that no mistake was made in the election.¹

¹ Dr. Capen — he received the honorary D.D. from St. Lawrence University in 1879 — was born in Stoughton, Mass., April 5, 1838; received preparatory education at the South Woodstock Institute, and entered Tufts in 1856. While an undergraduate, and but twenty-one years of age, he represented his town in the Legislature. He graduated in 1860. He has had pastorates in Gloucester, St. Paul, Minnesota, and in Providence, resigning his charge in the last-named for the presidency of Tufts. He has been president of the New England Commission on Admission Examinations, and yet retains that position. He has served twenty years as a trustee of the Universalist General Convention. He is a member of the State Board of Education, also chairman of the board of visitors of the Salem Normal School, having charge of the normal school building in that city but just completed, and chairman of the building committee of the new normal school for Fitchburg; and he has been honored with other responsible trusts. These biographical particulars are gathered from the "History of Tufts College."

Dr. Miner's resignation occurred in the midst of the financial depression following the crisis of 1873. It was soon found that the College was in sore need. President Capen addressed himself to the task presented, and in due time succeeded in increasing the resources of the College very largely. From one source and another more than \$500,000 have been added to the income-bearing funds during his administration. Besides this, numerous buildings have been erected and important facilities have been created: The beautiful Goddard Chapel and the Goddard Gymnasium, both the gift of Mrs. Mary T. Goddard; the Barnum Museum and its magnificent equipment, both the gift of P. T. Barnum; Dean Hall, a dormitory for young men in the college of letters; Paige Hall, a dormitory for divinity students; and Miner Hall, the noble and princely gift of Dr. Miner himself; the Bromfield-Pearson building, devoted to workshops, drawing, and elementary mathematics; the Commons Building, a large brick edifice; the chemical laboratory, and last,

but not least, Metcalf Hall, a stately and elegant pile, intended as a home for young women, the generous gift of Albert Metcalf. The intellectual resources of the institution have been enlarged and strengthened to an enormous extent. Not only have new professorships been created, but new departments of instruction have been called into existence. The Professorship of Civil Engineering, by means of which a very small number of students were given training in that branch of applied science, has been expanded into an important technical department in which nearly every branch of engineering is taught in a systematic and practical way. The technical work of the College has been reinforced and strengthened by the establishment of the Bromfield-Pearson School. The Divinity School has been transferred from its old and cramped quarters in one of the College dormitories to the buildings erected and specially designed for it. The Medical School has been organized and given a most promising start. The College, in all its departments, has been opened to women on the same terms as men. Some idea of the growth of the institution may be seen in the fact that the number of teachers has increased from 16 in 1875 to upwards of 80 in the catalogue of 1895. Whereas the number of students at the time of Dr. Capen's accession was scarcely more than 90, by the latest registration the number appears to be nearly 500. Courses and opportunities of study have been multiplied to a degree almost incredible. In 1875 a bright student in four years could take about all the instruction that was offered in the College. In a sense he could almost exhaust the resources of the College. Now the most brilliant student can cover only a fraction of what is offered. Dr. Capen's ability as an educator has received emphatic recognition. Through the Association of Colleges in New England, he joined forces with President Eliot in the measures proposed to secure uniformity in the requirements for admission to college. Eleven years ago the New England Commission on Admission Examinations, composed of thirteen colleges, was formed, and he was made President of it, — an office which he still holds, as above stated. In an important sense it can be said truthfully, he has walked in the steps of his predecessor.

The Board of Trustees in 1890 numbered 28 — J. D. W. Joy, president; Hon. H. B. Metcalf, vice-president; Hon. Newton Talbot, treasurer, and A. E. Mason, secretary; Hon. Charles Whittier, Rev. F. W. Hamilton, Rev. E. H. Capen, D. D., H. D. Williams, A. M., W. E. Parker and T. H. Armstrong, A. M., executive committee.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

SERVICE IN ESTABLISHING ENDOWED ACADEMIES.

DR. MINER'S specific service in evoking an interest in academic schools under the auspices of the denomination should have statement in this connection, for his labors in the academic line grew out of his experience in the management of the College. As has been stated in regard to the Clinton Liberal Institute, Westbrook Seminary, and the school at South Woodstock, other workers were active before him. But as respects Goddard Seminary in Vermont and Dean Academy in Massachusetts, he took a very active part, and for urgent reasons. It early appeared that it is one thing to provide a college and quite another thing to fill its benches. Various influences combine in determining a young man's choice in seeking collegiate instruction. The most powerful agency is the influence of the teacher who gives him preparatory training. If led to love and honor the teacher, the student will naturally seek the institution from which that teacher graduated. It may be doubted if in 1862 there were in all New England a half-dozen high-school principals whose preferences led them to favor Tufts, and of course there could at that date be none of the Alma Mater feeling. Then it appeared that the older colleges got their stu-

dents from the sons of graduates; the time was future when this factor could be of assistance to Tufts. At the outset nearly all of its boys came from the few and poorly equipped Universalist academies,— the school in South Woodstock, Vt., in which the Rev. John S. Lee, now Dr. Lee of Canton, N. Y., had with scanty means done most excellent work, being a principal “feeder,” as the tributary academies were called. Tufts has therefore a special interest in the South Woodstock School, Westbrook Seminary, and, conjointly with the St. Lawrence University, in the Clinton Liberal Institute, in Clinton, N. Y. Dr. Miner was at once moved to give aid and inspiration to the New England academies, and to take a leadership in the providing of other “feeders” for his college. The Rev. George S. Weaver, D.D., now of Canton, N. Y., also saw the exigency, and contributed very helpful articles to the denominational press in advocacy of preparatory schools.

Dr. Miner’s efforts were particularly manifest in this direction. The high-schools and academies of Massachusetts were not friendly, not a few of them were hostile, to Tufts, and hence the Universalists of the Bay State must have their academy—in the then customary phrase, their “feeder” for the College. Again, Dr. Miner acts on “School Street.” Dr. Oliver Dean, though a resident of Franklin, was yet a member of the Boston Society, and when residing in the city a constant attendant at its Sunday services. Almost by accident the two men met in the School Street vestry. Dr. Miner stated to his parishioner the exigency, substantially in the terms which have been here described.

Dr. Dean had, at the time the site of the College was under consideration, made generous offers including ample grounds in Franklin, but had acquiesced in what seemed the more desirable site in Medford and Somerville; and it was his purpose greatly to increase his aid to the institution. His only definite response to Dr. Miner was that he would take his suggestion into consideration, adding that what he might do for the Academy must necessarily divert so much from the College.

In 1864 Dr. Miner brought the matter before the Massachusetts Convention in an annual session at Worcester, which by resolution approved of the suggestion, and appointed a board of trustees to carry the project into effect. Dr. Dean, after careful deliberation, acquiesced, making a gift of eight acres in Franklin, \$50,000 as a permanent fund, and \$10,000 towards a suitable building. He subsequently increased the \$10,000 by adding thereto \$50,000, with \$5,000 for a library and \$10,000 to sustain it. On his decease in December, 1871, he left the Academy \$110,000, also making it his residuary legatee. The school was opened in 1866, with Timothy G. Senter as principal, L. L. Burrington and Miss Mary Melcher, assistants. The academy building, however, was not ready for occupancy until 1868, in which year it was dedicated by customary ceremonial, Rev. E. C. Bolles giving the address. Then began the usual "struggle,"—the learning to stand by falling. The total destruction of the building by fire in July, 1872, was followed by the construction of a larger building at a cost of \$165,000. Dean Academy at last assumed stability and great prosperity under the

principalship of Mr. L. L. Burrington.¹ It should be added that while Dr. Dean was by great pre-eminence the principal donor, his munificence was supplemented by numerous smaller gifts. Dr. Miner had accomplished his purpose, and his College had a "feeder," and one that has been of great help in furnishing students for College Hill.

A full statement of Dr. Miner's service in the establishing and endowing of academies under the auspices of his denomination, must include a sketch of the history of Goddard Seminary in Barre, Vt., in which he was a vital factor—one in the lack of which it does not now seem that the school could have been secured. The incipency of the seminary was in a conviction perhaps most fully realized by William R. Shipman—now Professor Shipman, of Tufts College—that it is impossible to sustain an academy on the sole basis of tuition fees. Graduating from Middlebury College in 1859, he took charge of the Green Mountain Institute in South Woodstock, at the time greatly reduced in fortunes and in reputation. His four years of service, which got the institute back to something of its pristine efficiency, convinced him that a thoroughly equipped and fairly well endowed school, one fully up to the rank of other successful academies, was a necessity in Vermont. Through his influence the matter was brought before the Vermont Convention of Universalists in 1863, and its emphatic sympathy was evoked and made practical, and agents for raising the needful means were put into the field.

¹ Eddy's *Universalism in America*, vol. ii. p. 440.

At the session of the same Convention in Barre, in 1864, it was the writer's opportunity to hear Mr. Shipman, in a powerful and impressive address, in which he argued most convincingly that the further prosperity of Universalism in Vermont, even its stability, was contingent upon the success of the movement to *endow* an academy. It was "then and there" that the writer overheard the remark: "I came to the Convention to hear sermons, not begging speeches!" The indications were favorable. The Convention fully committed itself to the enterprise. It was evident, however, that help must come from abroad. And to whom could Mr. Shipman and his co-workers go? Of course, to Alonzo Ames Miner. And they got what they went after. Dr. Miner had seen the need, and Thomas A. Goddard had, before the Convention of 1864, made an offer of one-tenth of the needed sum up to fifty thousand dollars. The endowed academy was assured.

It became a delicate question where to place it, — at South Woodstock, at Northfield, at Springfield, or at Barre, — inducements were held out by each competitor. Dr. Miner was one of a committee to decide the serious question. How far he influenced his associates cannot be determined, but the writer distinctly remembers hearing him say that the best interests of the school pointed to Barre. Dr. Shipman writes: "Dr. Miner may be said to have been the moving spirit in the course that led to the establishment of what is now Goddard Seminary. Without him I do not see how the movement could have taken such shape as to afford real results. He saw the need; he advocated it; he brought from Mr. Goddard

the promise of such aid as made it possible to undertake the work. From his parishioners and others he secured many gifts for the school, notably when money had to be raised to complete payment for the large and expensive building. Without his strong aid in those trying years, his own gifts and his power to persuade giving in others, I do not see how the great undertaking could have been saved from failure. In subsequent years I not infrequently went to him for counsel, for assistance directly and indirectly in behalf of the school. I never went to him in vain. I never asked him for money without receiving it; and it was always readily and graciously given. Goddard Seminary has been wrought by many hands. Many persons whom I could name — a half-dozen or more — were workers without whom failure must, so far as I can see, have been experienced. Dr. Miner certainly belongs in this list, as also Mr. and Mrs. Goddard."

It has been stated that the motive with Dr. Shipman was not that of furnishing a "feeder" to Tufts, but that of establishing an academy *with an endowment*. At the outset this may have been the principal consideration that influenced President Miner. But ere long he found the academy to be what he so much coveted — a "source of supplies" in filling the benches at College Hill.¹

This chapter and the one immediately preceding have

¹ The building being ready for occupancy in the spring of 1870, "the school opened with Mr. L. L. Burrington as principal, and Mary A. Bryant as preceptress. In November, 1870, the name of the institution was changed by an amendment of an Act of Incorporation to the Goddard Seminary, in memory of Mr. Thomas A. Goddard, then deceased." — Eddy's *Universalism in America*, p. 443.

greatly exceeded the limits that were mentally prescribed when the first paragraph was written. Yet multitudinous are the particulars which must be omitted. The two chapters are, however, an honest attempt to record without exaggeration the greatest in the many achievements of the great man and Church leader, whose history this work seeks to present in justice to his memory and in service to mankind.¹

¹ At the centennial commemoration of the establishing of Universalism in America, under the auspices of the General Convention, held at Gloucester, Mass., in September, 1870, Dr. Miner, being the preacher of the centenary sermon, improved the occasion to give a summary of the educational efforts of the denomination and of results, — a summary which if made in 1896, would receive many and great additions. He said: "At that time (1801) we had no colleges, no divinity schools, no well-endowed academies. Westbrook Seminary, in Maine, incorporated in 1830, Clinton Liberal Institute, in New York, founded in 1832, with the Orleans Liberal Institute at Glover, Vt., and the Green Mountain Institute, at South Woodstock, Vt., which, severally, were but feebly if at all endowed, were all the institutions of learning we could boast.

"As early as 1814 a seminary was projected; and in the three or four following years, committees were enjoined to raise the sum of five thousand dollars to carry the project into effect. Nothing, however, was accomplished. Various other enterprises were meditated from time to time, but were either never started or came to a premature end.

"But about twenty years ago, almost simultaneously east and west, there were put forth well-considered efforts for the founding of higher institutions of learning. The immediate results, after much toil, were Lombard University, in the west, and Tufts College in the east, both but meagrely endowed. A new impulse, however, seemed almost at once to move our whole church, and its fruits have been most happy.

"St. Lawrence University, with its two professional schools, in northern New York; Dean Academy, with its magnificent endowment, in Massachusetts; Jefferson Institute, with its elegant edifice, in Wisconsin; Green Mountain Central Institute, with its most solid and commodious structure, in Vermont; Smithson College, handsomely begun, in Indiana; Buchtel College, so munificently assured, by Hon. John R. Buchtel, in Ohio; and the strengthening every way of institutions previously established, are the remoter results and the prophecy of a better day for our church.

"Now we number not less than seven academies, five colleges, estab-

lished and establishing, three professional schools, two of divinity and one of law, possessing an aggregate property of not less than two millions of dollars.

"Fifty years ago our whole church stood appalled by the proposition to raise five thousand dollars for educational purposes ; now we have two millions invested and employed to the same end. Twenty years ago some of our wisest men were in grave doubt whether, in all our land, we could raise a hundred thousand dollars for the founding of a college. Not only was this accomplished, but there has been contributed, for the same general purpose, an average of a hundred thousand dollars *a year*, ever since ; and in our centenary period alone we are proposing to raise millions. Surely, 'to him that hath shall be given, and he shall have abundance.' "

CHAPTER XXIX.

SERVICE OUTSIDE OF DENOMINATIONAL LIMITS.

THE preceding chapters have given what are thought to be representative particulars of A. A. Miner's work within the limits of his denomination — his work as preacher, pastor, organizer, leader, and helper in nearly all the departments of denominational enterprise, particularly inclusive of home missions and the publishing interests; and great emphasis has been laid upon his marvellous achievements in the putting of Tufts College on a "financial basis," and in the administration of its internal affairs, and also upon his help — often leadership — in the establishing of endowed academies, with special regard to their need as "feeders" of the College classes. It has been made to appear that he was a parish man and far more, and a denominational man and far more; for his service in developing the institutions of learning was not, could not be, exclusively sectarian. This book was begun with the deep impression that its subject was too broad, too many-sided, was endowed with too great a number of talents, to find full scope within even the broadest conception of denominational endeavor. Though a special chapter will make the difficult task to analyze his character into its salient characteristics, the record of his life

within his denomination may be regarded as closing with the last chapter.

This biography would, however, be lamentably deficient were there not at least a general mention of Dr. Miner's work in great enterprises essentially outside of church or sectarian boundaries. The author of the Epistle to the Hebrews began that part of it which has been divided off as the eleventh chapter, with an attempt to make an inventory of the things wrought by faith, but on reaching the thirty-second verse, he seems impressed with the sense of an impossible task — the particulars are multitudinous. "And what shall I more say, for the time would fail me to tell of Gideon and of Barak, and of Samson, and of Jephthah; of David also, and Samuel, and of the prophets." Even so space would fail to tell of all the educational, humanitarian, and philanthropic societies to which Dr. Miner belonged, always a working member; of what he did in charity, in the interests of sobriety and freedom, of the poor, the neglected, the oppressed: surely space would fail unless the plan provided for a second octavo. Whence got this man so many and such varied talents and activities? How could so frail a body contain and sustain so much?

" Now, in the names of all the gods at once,
Upon what meat doth this our Cæsar feed,
That he is grown so great?"

In no envious or jealous spirit such as filled the heart of Cassius with hate, but in wonderment and gratitude the question may well be asked, What was the nourishment that kept alert and efficient this " noblest Roman" of the Universalist Church, whose ear was open

to all the calls of humanity and of reform, who seemed to have a particular ear for every one, whose feet were ever running on errands of mercy? He rendered heroic service in many enterprises of help to his fellows, where fidelity to even one would have been too exacting for the average man. In truth, his sensitive love that called him to most arduous toil is without precedent. In this regard, it may be safely assumed that Dr. Miner was *sui generis*, — a patient attempt to recall his peer fails. But both time and space would fail in any effort to make an inventory of particulars.

The great reforms that will engage the attention of the historian of the nineteenth century will include two of towering proportions, — that of the chronic fight with the rum-power and the effort to stay its ravages, and that of freedom in a terrible and at last successful effort to emancipate the bondmen of the rice fields and cotton plantations, particularly with the battle in resistance to the slavery propagandism. For each of these great questions, separate chapters must describe A. A. Miner's service. This chapter will conclude with briefest recital of his relations to enterprises of lesser magnitude, yet of great importance.

For very near a quarter of a century Dr. Miner was a member of the Massachusetts Board of Education. The writer once heard the late Dr. Barnas Sears, at the time secretary of the Board, say that a member of that Board could do as little work or as much as he had a disposition to do, the implication being that there was opportunity for all the industry of which he was capable. Who ever knew Dr. Miner to be content with a min-

imum of industry in anything to which he saw occasion to apply his energies? In fact he saw great opportunity for useful endeavor in the long period of his service as a member of the State Board, and in the very marked progress as respects the means and ends of popular education made in the last quarter of a century he was a hard worker and in some regards a leader; while he was particularly alert in the conserving of what ample time had tested to approve, against the assaults of the demagogue and the iconoclast. The writer remembers his coming, years ago, into the Universalist headquarters in Cornhill, his mind evidently agitated by some question that had been before the members of the Board, breaking out rather abruptly: "Who would have thought that at this time, after so much experience, there could be a doubt as to the need of high schools under State supervision?" At that time there was a strenuous endeavor to abolish such schools on the demagogic pretence that they were for the sons and daughters of the rich, sustained by popular taxation. "Why," said Dr. Miner, "the high school, being sustained by public money, is of course sustained by the rich, and very largely for the benefit of the poor, particularly of those too poor to pay more than the poll tax; while a large proportion of the rich educate their children at private academies. Why, the high school is the most democratic institution in the commonwealth." A few years ago, in company with the writer, he attended a session of the Pennsylvania Universalist Convention at Towanda, and the two were company on the return as far as New York. During the

journey he was perpetually propounding questions as to different methods of education — how early it should begin, just at what average age arithmetic and grammar should be introduced, how far good reading is a gift and how far an attainment — all spoken with an accent that attested some exigency before, doubtless some exchange of opinions in, the Board. The late D. B. Hagar, of the Normal School in Salem, with characteristic humor, told of his “jealousy” when Dr. Miner, as chairman of the committee on the Normal Schools, came to visit and examine his classes — the young ladies were so delighted whenever he made the official inspection! But the kindly feeling that won both teacher and scholar never made the official less painstaking and judicial in the performance of his duty.

Dr. Miner’s successor in the presidency of Tufts College, Dr. E. H. Capen, in his memorial address, given in full in the Appendix, makes needless the giving here of details in reference to the Normal Art School. It may, however, be added that somewhere in the twenty-four hours he found a spare hour or more in looking after its interests. The Art School was in a measure his pet, and in vital particulars his creation, and when he thought he saw occasion to defend it against injudicious administration, he at once put on the armor of defence and assault, as the records of the legislature a few years ago will attest, and also newspaper reports and editorial paragraphs of the time.

Dr. Miner’s work in philanthropic lines, if given in detail, would fill a book of larger dimensions than those prescribed for the present volume. But as the weary

pen of the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews broke down in physical exhaustion when he got to "Gideon," so here the narrative must be read by the simple title. As the man of seemingly superhuman versatility and industry at last lay still in death, even Dr. Miner's associates were surprised,—not indeed at the number of tributes that came from all quarters, but at the number of sources from which they emanated. Said a gentleman to the writer: "Can you tell me to what society Dr. Miner did not belong?" The answer could only be: "If in the interests of charity, humanity, reform,—he seemed to belong to every one within his reach, and to be the president and a chief worker in all." But in the rhetoric of the Epistle, "time would fail" were the attempt made to fill out the list of services he rendered, for examples, in the Anti-Tenement House League, and—last of a long list—in the hearings before the legislature in protest against what he sincerely believed to be the gigantic wrong of legalizing child insurance. In regard to this scheme he saw only a cunning device to rob the poor by artful practices upon their strong but unreasoning paternal affections. It vexed his soul to find a "bloated corporation" before the legislature working through costly legal service, in furtherance of a plan which put millions into its coffers, for most part, as he could not doubt, the "price of blood"; and, in company with others, most assiduously did he labor to abolish the legislative act that permitted the wrong. His record in these humanitarian movements, made in briefest terms, implies volumes in tribute to the great heart and unflagging zeal in protec-

tion, or attempted protection, of the unfortunate, the deceived, the wronged. It must suffice for this connection simply to add that whatever came to him in the character of true reform, particularly in humanitarian lines, at once had possession of his heart and his hand. And again the question presses: Whence got this man the time and the strength for all these varied endeavors in behalf of the poor and the perishing? It would seem that now only God can answer the question. To his biographer the problem is bewildering and insoluble.

CHAPTER XXX.

EVOLUTION OF THE TEMPERANCE REFORM.

AMONG the mysteries of iniquity, or of things that become the occasion of iniquity, must be included, and as holding a chief place, the facility with which certain artificial beverages are created and which become not simply a luxury to be enjoyed or held in abeyance, but often the absolute master of the human will. Of the appetites there are many, and each has its particular — not its exclusive, but particular — climate and race. The one that rules in the colder climates is, it is hardly needful to say, the craving for alcoholic stimulants. Whatever may be the use of alcoholic liquors in the arts and in medical practice, whether, as many scientific authorities insist, they render any service that cannot be equally as well secured by harmless decoctions, there does not seem to be any use for them for man in his normal condition of health and strength. Considered as beverages — by which is meant the indulgence of them purely for their pleasurable and stimulating effects — they are at their best worthless; at their worst they become perhaps the greatest scourge that has ever afflicted mankind. What is here alleged is so near a matter of course, is so generally conceded to be fact, that rarely does anybody make habitual use of the liquors

which cheer and easily inebriate, without fancying or affecting to fancy that some special weakness or ailment finds in them medical help and virtue.

The scourge felt everywhere, in every age,¹ and among nearly all classes was, in the early part of the century, particularly destructive in the farming regions of New England. The special liquor was rum distilled from molasses imported from the West Indies, whiskey having its sway more particularly in the corn-growing regions in the opening West — which at the time had not got very far to the west — and in the South. The “rum-jug” and the village tavern with “three-cent drinks” were the pestilence walking by noonday and making nights hideous. The evil grew so rapidly, and in the aggregate became so fearful, that the thoughtful, even among those who moderately indulged, took alarm. The existence of civilization itself was threatened. The

¹ The history of the scourge goes back to the days of Noah among the Hebrews, and is traceable in the Homeric poems. The following is from Homer's *Odyssey*, book iv., Pope's translation: —

“ Meantime with genial joy to warm the soul,
Bright Helen mix'd a mirth-inspiring bowl;
Temper'd with drugs of sovereign use to assuage
The boiling bosom of tumultuous rage;
To clear the cloudy front of wrinkled care,
And dry the tearful sluices of despair:
Charm'd with that virtuous draught, the exalted mind
All sense of woe delivers to the wind:
Though on the blazing pile his parent lay,
Or a loved brother groan'd his life away,
Or darling son, oppress'd by ruffian force,
Fell breathless at his feet a mangled corse:
From morn to eve impassive and serene,
The man entranced would view the deathful scene.
These drugs, so friendly to the joys of life,
Bright Helen learned from Thone's imperial wife.”

women and the better class of the community were stricken with terror. The victims of the habit, and legion was their name, were insensible to the appeals of reason. Though their eyes could but be open to the destruction that was before them, they walked or reeled to their ruin as if beckoned by some fiend whose fascinations they had no strength to resist. In truth, it seemed as if the very existence of society was in peril.¹ However, in reference to this evil, as to others which, for reasons not clear to fallible minds, God permits to afflict His people, He did not leave our fathers to what seemed a hopeless fate, but, at the hour that to Him seemed most opportune, raised up needful and largely effective deliverers, and a race of drunkards and of men in danger of becoming such had their Moses, and the Moses soon found his Joshuas and Calebs.

In this connection the pride will be pardoned that notes the pioneer of temperance in a distinguished Universalist of Philadelphia, — Dr. Benjamin Rush. His essay, "The Effect of Ardent Spirits on the Human Body and Mind," published in Philadelphia in 1785, and

¹ "Drunkenness was naturally one of the forms which vice assumed in New England. So far as it depended on the mere fact of opportunity for indulgence, it was partly due to our nearness to the West Indies, and to the trade by which our lumber was exchanged for their molasses. The peculiar product of our distillation was the result of the lumber trade with the West India islands, just as the production of whiskey is now the result of the superabundant grain crops of the Western States. A hard climate, much exposure, little variety in food, and great want of culinary skill, few amusements, the absence of light cheering beverages, a sense of care and responsibility cultivated intensely, and the prevalence of ascetic and gloomy theories of life, duty, and Providence — have, in time past, all combined to increase the perils of the people from the seductive narcotic." — *Hon. John A. Andrew's Address before Massachusetts Legislative Committee in behalf of a License Law.*

reprinted in England the year succeeding, may be regarded as the initiative of the temperance reformation. It had a great and widespread effect for good. In the same connection it is a pleasure to be enabled to add that Dr. Rush found his Joshua in an Orthodox Congregational clergyman, — the same person who went to Boston to “kill Unitarianism,” with side-thrusts at Universalism, Dr. Lyman Beecher, whose “Six Sermons on Temperance” were greatly blessed for good on both continents. Other laborers came to help on the good cause. Then came societies under various titles and auspices, and at last legislation, with, for most of the Northern States, New England particularly, a public sentiment hostile to the indiscriminate traffic, — in not a few communities hostile to the traffic in any form and degree. It cannot be said that the community was saved, for the evil has never been crushed. But strong barriers have been set up against it. In not a few communities it has been rolled back. Everywhere it has been put upon the defence. And temperance work is almost everywhere in this country, and in some measure in England, a conspicuous phase of applied Christianity. The years of a generation passed between the initial word spoken by Dr. Rush and the birth of Alonzo Ames Miner. It is practically accurate to say that the temperance reform was fairly on its feet and earnestly at work in the latter’s early boyhood.

In this great and imperative reform, which from youth to venerable age held so intently Dr. Miner’s sympathies and drew so continually upon his strength, there was an evolution. With exceptional manifestations in different

communities, the growth of temperance sentiment was sequential — crude at the beginning, systematic and uncompromising in the form and demand in which it finally matured. At the outset it distinguished between use and abuse. The word temperance implies use, it was alleged. Can one be temperate in the use of food if he does not eat at all? Within the limits of needful stimulant the use was to be commended — was a “creature comfort” not to be forgone. But woe to them that tarry long therewith. Then a distinction was made between fermented liquors which were in nature, and to be enjoyed in moderation, and distilled liquors which, being artificial creations, were to be discarded. Very soon, however, this distinction was to be regarded as illusive, the difference being exclusively one of degree and not of quality; alcohol, whether naturally worked out or artificially produced, is simply alcohol. Then came the teaching that for the normal condition — that of health — alcohol as a drink has no use whatever, any more than have the poisons; the next and positive step was soon taken, alcoholic drink being as truly a poison as arsenic, though greatly less so in degree. This was the doctrine of total abstinence. Then came the last stage in possible evolution — that in which it was affirmed that alcohol has no use whatever, either in disease or health, and that its manufacture should be totally arrested. A few eminent physiologists have given their endorsement to this theory; and a few — relatively very few — medical practitioners have excluded it from their *materia medica*. It may be said here that in this procession of ideas from approved moderation to

the final destruction of whatever can inebriate, Alonzo A. Miner was always at the head ; years before he died he would have blessed an opportunity to put his endorsement upon an imperial edict relentlessly and autocratically striking alcohol in all its combinations out of existence.

But side by side with the evolution of ideas there was a correlative progress in regard to legal restrictions of the traffic and the indulgence. When the reform began in earnest there was a quite general insistence that it should proceed without assistance from, or reliance upon, legislative enactments. What was called "moral suasion" was to be the sole reliance; law, it was said, would only compromise and retard the good work. Appeals to the reason, the conscience, and the heart of the drunkard and to the maker of drunkards, do not vex, irritate, drive either party to greater wickedness as do threats of law — of the penalties of law. For some inexplicable reason this strange tenderness as respects the feelings of the transgressor was never so much as thought of in regard to theft, robbery, and other kinds of evil-doing, or in regard to even useful though dangerous things, such as gunpowder, fire-crackers, explosive oils, or other products of art in which very needful things are dangerous in the hands of the careless and the unskilful. Of course, the maudlin sentimentalism was ere long seen to be lacking in good sense and practicality. As the temperance sentiment grew, while there was to be no abatement in the "moral suasion" it was discovered that the growing sentiment must have the support of legal restriction. And temperance

legislation came as matter of course. But in many communities, and with many persons in every community, restriction by statute increased in legal severity, the unlicensed sale of alcoholic liquors being made punishable not simply with fines — which had no terror — but with imprisonment, which is ever a terror to this particular class of evil-doers. Finally, in 1851, under the lead of Hon. Neal Dow, the State of Maine — in temperance sentiment and work always in advance of every other commonwealth — enacted a law, prohibiting, under severe penalties, the manufacture and sale of alcoholic liquors, cider alone excepted.¹ In all this

¹ In their legal application words seldom have the exact and full meanings given by the lexicographers. In fact, there never has been — there has never been an attempt to make — a strictly prohibitory law as respects liquors that intoxicate. There have been individuals who would welcome such legislation, and who have publicly advocated it. But no legislature has, in any effective degree, felt their influence. Hence, the most rigid legislation has made provision for the manufacture and sale of such liquors for the uses of the arts and medicine. As the "Maine Law" became the archetype of all so-called prohibitory legislation, it may be well to give here, severely condensed, its distinctive provisions. Enacted in 1851, it forbade the manufacture and sale of any intoxicating liquor except cider, which, unadulterated, might be sold in quantities of five gallons and upwards, — under penalty of two months' imprisonment and a fine of \$100. The sale of all intoxicating liquors, including wine, ale, porter, strong beer, lager beer, all malt liquors, and cider for tippling purposes, was forbidden under penalties of fine and imprisonment, the degree of which was increased for successive violations up to and including the third. The same penalties were increased for the convicted common seller, and for persons keeping drinking houses and tippling shops. "Any one injured in person, property, means of support, or otherwise by an intoxicated person, may bring an action for damages against the person who sold the liquor, and the owner or lessee of the building where it was sold is jointly liable if cognizant of such use." Fines and imprisonment were made penalties for intoxicated persons disturbing the peace, either upon the streets or in their own families. Liquors kept for sale and the vessels containing them were made contraband. Under restrictions and bonds, a State commissioner was to be appointed by the

"procession" of legal restrictions, and at last of prohibition, Dr. Miner had others abreast of him, but no one ever got so much as a step in advance of him; and for more than a quarter of a century he was at once the Pym of the agitation and the Cromwell of the moral and legal war, — had occasion called, he would without hesitation have been its martyr with his blood.

The temperance reform vigorously in operation with rigid legal accompaniments, there came a war the intensity of which may have had its full parallel in the slavery agitation, but as respects no other domestic contention known to the century. The conflict of ideas in the religious community had incidents of fanatical bitterness and proscriptions of extreme virulence, as has been noted in the description already given of the antagonism evoked by the advocacy of Universalist doctrines, but dogmatic and sectarian hate hardly admits of terms of comparison with the hate peculiar to a stern conflict with animal appetite and greed. The distiller, the brewer, the importer, and all the middle-men, and their victims, took alarm. The financial interests involved were widespread and enormous. The passion of greed is rarely scrupulous, and pandemonium can hardly furnish epithets sufficiently strong adequately to describe the methods by which it sought to neutralize the efforts of the temperance reformers. In the antagonism to these there was no scope for "moral suasion" or for an appeal to the statutes, provided they kept, as they governor and council "for the necessary sale of such liquors," he "to furnish to the municipal officers of towns pure, unadulterated intoxicating liquors to be sold for medicinal, mechanical, and manufacturing purposes."

almost uniformly did, within the limits of legitimate free speech. But the mob could be set upon them, and violence could lay hands upon them in covert ways. No method could be too disreputable, provided it could in any way or degree be made to conserve the interests of "the trade." As for appetite, there is rarely the instance in which it has been willing or even able to listen to the voice either of reason or self-interest. In the frenzy of gross appetite, the victim, wholly blind to the remoter consequences, can see and will aim for only the maddening pleasure of the moment: he is not simply in bonds, but very often bereft of the power of will. In regard to the fanatical and Pharisaic spirit and methods of the remote past, an attempt has been made in preceding pages to give approximate descriptions for the information of younger readers. But in regard to the war between greed and appetite on the one side and the moral and legal resistance thereto put forth by temperance reformers, no occasion calls for any statement of particulars: the war is still raging, and he that runs may read.

CHAPTER XXXI.

THE CHAMPION OF PROHIBITORY LEGISLATION.

DR. MINER'S career as a temperance reformer began in his youth almost as far back as the vigorous starting of the reform itself. New Hampshire hills and a severe climate were a special incitement to alcoholic indulgence, the same as the northern parts of Europe. By no means wholly a climatic question — Dr. Miner was not willing to concede that it was this in any degree — for intemperance prevails in France and even in Italy, no tourist from the New World to the Old fails to note the contrast, at least as respects the *outward symptoms* of inebriety, between Naples and Glasgow, between Rome and Boston; and of all sections of New England — its Switzerland as it is aptly called — the hilly regions of the Granite State may be set down as having been particularly cursed by the relentless evil; and Dr. Miner was New Hampshire born and reared up to the age of about twenty-six. As for himself, he never even knew the appetite, and never could comprehend the temptation. But he saw the ravages and at the outset looked at it not simply with the eyes of the moral reformer, but with those of the economist and statesman. William Lloyd Garrison was not more incensed at the sin and barbarism of negro slavery, or

more intelligently consecrated to the work of its overthrow, than was Alonzo A. Miner from the first to his dying hour, as respects the enemy "that steals away the brains." Though taking pains to inform himself in regard to any evil he felt it his duty strongly to antagonize, he made every phase of the temperance question a study. He familiarized himself with the statistics of the effects of intemperance on the moral, social, political, industrial condition of society, and when questioned in regard to any of the particulars implied, it instantly appeared that the quiver was full and that the ever-bent bow sent its arrows with unerring aim.

In the early spring of 1867 a notable and now historic exigency brought Dr. Miner before the public of Massachusetts and in large degree before that of all the commonwealths in which the matter of prohibitory legislation had received serious agitation, making widespread his reputation, long enjoyed by his friends, of being a "born lawyer"—one who would easily have taken place with the chosen few in the front rank had his early choice of a vocation led him into the legal rather than the clerical profession. This exigency was in an endeavor, in the end destined to be successful, to supplant in Massachusetts the then existing prohibitory statute with "a judicious license law." It was an organized campaign in behalf of license on a scale of most extraordinary proportions. By the 1st of April the number of petitions for the change had been worked up to about thirty thousand. There was a distinct petition from the principal innkeepers, and another from the officers and trustees of the Massachusetts College of

Pharmacy. All the petitions went to a joint special committee of fourteen from both branches of the Legislature.

It was a remarkable spectacle. Read simply *in* the lines it was quite unlike what it was seen to be when read *between* the lines. The witnesses summoned to testify adversely, appeared to reflect the cultured aristocracy of the State. Seventeen were doctors of divinity; sixteen were "Reverends" without the D. D.; twenty-nine had the prefix of "Honorable"; seven were physicians; nine were professors; to twenty-three was affixed the "Esq."; only two dropped to the plain "Mr." In the list of witnesses the name of no person financially interested in the immense traffic appears! It seems, reading only the lines, to be an assemblage of gentlemen in divinity, law, medicine, and scholarly vocations, having no other purpose than that of elevating the health and moral tone of the community. Yet back of all, the initial act in the movement was a meeting of liquor-dealers, held in Boston, April 19, 1866, brought together by a notice marked "Confidential," which said: "It will not do to let the effort emanate from liquor-dealers as liquor-dealers" — that "it must not appear that the meeting was held by the liquor-dealers, for the moment the liquor element was introduced the influence was lost;" and it was further said that the ninety or hundred million dollars which the Boston traffic represented was "a power capable of doing almost anything."

One of the counsel was a distinguished layman of the Orthodox Congregational Church; the other, the Hon.

John A. Andrew, a Unitarian in religion, a Republican in politics, and, in this instance, antagonizing the sympathies and opinions of at least three out of every four of his political friends, unquestionably the peer of any lawyer in the Commonwealth, enjoying the high repute of the War Governor, and as such having a coveted national prestige and fame, being perhaps the most popular citizen of Massachusetts. The "stage setting" of this memorable combination for the overthrow of prohibitory legislation and the introduction of a statute to legalize the sale of intoxicating liquors as "goods," and in the interests of public order and a better morality, was probably never surpassed by any theatrical management; it might be emulated by that master of stage accompaniments, Sir Henry Irving. Such was the presence, as we read simply the lines. What was it when read between the lines?

Against this elaborately organized movement hostile to the prohibitory law, sustained by the ablest and most influential counsel, with from ninety to a hundred millions of dollars invested in the traffic, appeared the remonstrants, with Dr. Miner as the principal counsellor, and he not trained to legal methods, sustained by no financial interest personal to himself and those he represented. But he was a lawyer by native right, and he went into the conflict with the moral courage that never knows how to flinch.

The leading counsellors brought into sharp collision were, as respects other great moral agitations, co-workers and mutual friends, even mutual admirers, particularly as regards the late fearful danger of sla-

very propagandism and fugitive-slave enactments, and as stern opponents of that relic of barbarism, the death penalty. During the awful days of the war, the zeal of Governor Andrew was literally described as "volcanic," and his patriotic fervor and confidence of final victory were a tonic to the loyal people of the whole nation. The courage and determination of both were Cromwellian. With whatever of abatement, it was impossible that either counsellor should have other than respect and esteem for the other, certainly up to the epoch of the great endeavor to destroy prohibitory legislation.

Those who write or lecture upon Daniel Webster are usually led to dwell upon the greatest epoch in his career, when, in the Senate Chamber of the National Capitol, he faced the chosen orator of Conditional Nullification, the champion, above all others, of the extremest theory of State Rights, meeting the responsibility with as little anxiety, as little doubt of his ability to sustain his cause, as if he were dealing with a most commonplace affair. Everybody, as Edward Everett said to a throng seated before the entrance to the Boston State House, was painfully, feverishly anxious, with the one exception, — that of the mighty orator himself. Dr. Miner has been placed in many trying exigencies, where the burden of responsibility would have crushed the shoulders of ordinary men, even of men far above mediocrity, but the burden was an Atlas weight when in competition with the ablest, certainly the most influential, member of the Massachusetts bar, and facing "the cultured aristocracy" looking upon

him almost with an expression of contempt. But with unhesitating faith in his cause, and in the arguments in the support of which he, more than any of his compeers, was the master, having the full approval of his pure conscience, and not doubting that God was on his side, "what foe had he to fear?" He rose to the height of the great occasion with Websterian grandeur, and with the ease of manner and faith in himself that made memorable the day when the greatest of American statesmen humbled the champion of Sectionalism and of the incipency of Secession. April 2, 1867, was the day on which Dr. Miner made his argument for the retention of legislative prohibition in the hall of the House of Representatives, in the presence of an assembly that crowded every available place. His appearance under the to him unusual circumstances, conscious that the Commonwealth was his real auditor, must be set down as the great public event of his long and very eventful career.

No attempt will be made here to analyze or to characterize his speech, further than to say that it was deemed by the remonstrants an unanswerable argument in its collocation and arrangement of pertinent facts, in the eloquence with which it was delivered, and the moral tone which pervaded every utterance. The Temperance Alliance, at the request of which, by unanimous vote, he had assumed the responsibility, attested its appreciation of the effort, and its full satisfaction with the orator who had championed its cause, and sealed its vote by the presentation of a costly copy of the Doré Bible.

The argument—a masterpiece of testimony, statement, logic, eloquence—failed to save the prohibitory law! Indeed, but was it not said in the Faneuil Hall meeting that the ninety or hundred millions of dollars which the Boston traffic represented, was “a power capable of doing almost anything”?

Defeat never disheartens, however much it may pain, the champion who has unshaken faith in the righteousness of his cause. Dr. Miner and his co-laborers were doomed to see the law which they deemed the sheet-anchor of the temperance movement, stricken from the statute books, and in its place legal permission to sell the accursed “poison” as a “beverage”! Cast down they may have been, but they were not destroyed. At once plans were made for the recovering of what was lost. Dr. Miner did indeed make the best of the prohibitory features of the license system. He gratefully accepted the local option clause and did all that lay in his power to persuade those whom he could reach to put the significant “No” into the ballot box. Everywhere he was counsellor and advocate and lecturer, seeking that important end. Yet he would say that while he felt a satisfaction in seeing local option successfully at work in Cambridge, Somerville, and other communities, he yet saw with indignation adjoining municipalities with licensed saloons, reaping a harvest of greed at the expense—expense in the sense of losing an immediate money income—of the places where the saloons were closed. The drinking was only transferred to Boston or some other municipality, while often the drunkenness and riot were made manifest in the places

where the liquor could not be bought; and "Boston got the money." Then the license system gave such respectability as law can give to a traffic essentially wicked. He welcomed, and before legislative committees pleaded for, all practicable restriction; made the most of every measure that minimized the license feature. The reducing the number of licenses, the removal of screens from the saloon windows, the forbidding the open sale in the neighborhood of private residences, of churches and school houses, — these hedges he accepted for the relatively little good that was in them. If others would pull out the plugs in the ship's bottom, he would bail with whatever measure he could lay his hands upon, even if it were a pint cup.

But "hedging," however well for the little distance it may go, is not, it never can be, the way for dealing with a custom that defies God and ruins men. Hence, from the hour of the defeat in the legislature of 1867 to the hour when he ceased to feel and think through organs of flesh and blood, he kept steadily in view the restoration of the prohibitory law. Successive failures, the support of the politicians growing less reliable every year, the distrust of the prohibitory principle on the part of those who formerly had been earnest workers in its behalf, the growing feeling that "it cannot be executed," — all these things in no way or degree chilled his faith in the ultimate success of prohibitory legislation, however it may have saddened and vexed his pure soul to see so many once trusted followers deserting the cause. Think what we may of the merits of the law — its justice, its practicability, its

expediency ; distrust it if we must in every one of these regards, and feel compelled, if the modified conviction impel, to turn from it to the method which permits the evil in the belief that it may be controlled and limited ; it yet remains that we have before us, in the memory of Alonzo Ames Miner, as adhering to it in the shadow of all its adversities, adhering with unfaltering courage and hope, one of the spectacles which, here and there — the intervals between ominously long — make human history, in the persons of its moral heroes, an inspiration to whatever is good. There is something pathetic, there is that which rebukes our sloth and comes to us as an apostolic exhortation to be yet valiant and hopeful, as we look back, or stand by the newly-made grave, and see this now “Grand Old Man” of four-score, as relentless in his endeavors to replace prohibition in the statute books of the commonwealth, as alert and industrious in seeking to influence legislators to that end, as in the days of his pristine strength. The history of Massachusetts has a few such ennobling spectacles, but can they not be counted on the fingers of the two hands ? However this may be, Alonzo Ames Miner is in the category, and not far from the top. Could the pen that indites these lines but picture that presence in all the outlines, shades and colors of its greatness and grandeur and place it high upon the broad pedestal that would set it forth in due proportions and perspective, this biography would be nobly successful, even though it failed in all else. But alas ! how faint and colorless seem these words in contrast with the majestic figure they aim to describe.

A cause is noble in its ruins when such a champion hero stands by the broken columns.

Dr. Miner believed in organization. He well knew the difference between an army and a mob, between trained and tested veterans with the scars of battle, and the raw militia-man in a muster show. And the last twenty-eight years of his temperance career were a studious and persistent endeavor to organize the temperance forces for the recovery of what the many millions invested in the liquor traffic, and by no means the argument of the contest, had put down. No matter what society was organized, if he thought he could see in it any power, however diminutive, that might render a measure of coveted assistance, his hand was at once seen knocking at its doors; and when inside he by natural selection very often became its leader.¹

Principal among the organizations for the maintenance of prohibitory legislation was the Temperance Alliance, most of its members being accepted and honored leaders in the reform. For ten years Dr. Miner was its president, — here as elsewhere the leadership he never sought being forced upon him. It was, as has been stated, in response to the request of the Alliance, that he assumed the great responsibility of serving as counsellor for remonstrants, in his conflict with ex-Governor Andrew, in acknowledgment of which effort the Alliance paid tribute, as already noted, in the presentation to him of the costly Doré Bible. He had,

¹ Dr. Miner alienated not a few of his former co-workers by taking a leading part in the organizing of a Third Party, with the special view of making prohibitory legislation national. Twice he was this party's candidate for Governor of Massachusetts.

however, a far greater honor than this: threats of personal injury and the defacement of his house — threats, however, which the cowardly instigators never attempted to put into execution, though he took no precautions either as respects his person or his property, and which though unmistakably meant in earnest, never cost him a moment's sleep. Whatever else the appreciative friends of William Lloyd Garrison may be willing to let fade from their memory, they will ever keep green and nurture with chastened pride, the dragging of him with a rope round his neck through the streets of Boston, and the price set upon his head by the legal owners of human flesh. We are never to do evil in the hope of thereby attaining a greater good; but had the consecrated courage of A. A. Miner, in laboring for the suppression of an evil traffic, brought him stripes and blows, neither he nor his friends could have wished the world to forget the episode: no tribute is so great and unmistakable as persecution by the ignorant and the vile.

CHAPTER XXXII.

RESISTANCE TO SLAVERY PROPAGANDISM.

THE institution of negro slavery up to the serious proposal to annex Texas as a State to the Federal Union, was hardly matter of general discussion, or occasion of widespread protest. It was exclusively a State creation for which no free State was legally responsible. Massachusetts no more thought of disturbing slavery in the Carolinas than did the Carolinas think of raising objections to the exporting of rum to Africa by the merchants of Massachusetts. The people of the North regarded the traffic in human beings as sinful in the extreme; so they regarded serfdom in Russia and polygamy in Constantinople. They deemed it their right and their duty to condemn such wrongs, and all other wrongs, wherever they might be found. But they were not impelled by conscience or by any sense of political responsibility to act against a wrong in the state of Georgia any more than against a wrong in Russia. Abolition as a sentiment enforced by example and individual protest filled the full measure of their responsibility. Such was the almost universal feeling and conviction — a very small company led and inspired by William Lloyd Garrison formed the only exceptions, and abolitionists of this aggressive character were

almost as unpopular in Boston as in Charleston.¹ The annexation of Texas was, however, an undisguised attempt to extend, under national auspices, the area of "the sum of all villainies." The provocations that led to the Mexican War were believed to be simulated with no other end in view than that of the conquest of territory and the converting of it into slave States, thereby not only extending the institution, but doing so under a sanction which involved the entire North in the great guilt. So long as slavery was sectional, much might be said by people of the North, but in the way of overt act nothing could be done, so they believed. But when it was a declared purpose to make slavery national by the creating through the national legislature new slave commonwealths, and by the seizing of new territory for the same iniquitous purpose, the political right of the North to act, and the duty of action, were unmistakable. The Missouri Compromise, in establishing a line up to which slavery might go, was a national decree, and gave great alarm, rousing widespread indignation and protest. Then, slavery having got all that the Compromise permitted, the rescinding of the Compromise measure, thereby giving that institution

¹ In justice to Mr. Garrison and his co-workers it should be said that they did not concede the pertinency of illustrations drawn from Russian serfdom or other wrongs characteristic of different nations, touching which the people of the United States were irresponsible and powerless. Their insistence was that the terms of the National Union, in the Constitution, compelled the people of the free States to become participators in the wrong, agents in the perpetuation of the institution of slavery. As respects the clause authorizing the rendition of fugitive slaves, Mr. Garrison was certainly in the right, however it may have been in regard to other particulars.

permission to get still more, was the adding of fuel to a fire already widely raging. Then came the Fugitive Slave Law, which permitted slave-owners to pursue their slaves clear to the Canadian line, and the "Northern heart was fired." Finally, came the election of Abraham Lincoln to the presidency on a platform that forbade the further extension of the "peculiar institution," and there was secession, followed by war, followed by the triumph of the North, followed by Emancipation and the destruction of slavery on every foot of soil over which the flag of the Union might legally be unfurled.

The perplexities and at times the martyrdoms which the slavery agitation in all of the epochs here outlined, brought to the pastors of the Christian churches, can hardly be made conceivable to readers of these pages who are on the youthful side of forty. The business relations of the North with the South were very close, and often interlaced. The cotton-growing States were the customers of the States that furnished manufactured goods and ships, and so essential, seemingly, was the raw cotton to the cotton mills, both in New England and in Old England, that the Southern boast, "Cotton is king," seemed well founded. To the outward appearance the loss of this material, and of the custom that went in exchange for it, meant, it was said and feared, the growing of grass in the streets of every New England city, and the rotting of the wharves and ships in Boston and New York. Commercial fear took the courage out of the manufacturers and merchants as a class, and there was a widespread sentiment that insisted on putting padlocks to the mouths of the agitators. There

seemed with no small part of the people of the North to be an inability to note any distinction between the aggressive abolitionists of the Garrison school, who paid no heed to constitutional provisions, and the political "rights" special to each State with which no other State could interfere any more than it could with wrong to humanity in Ireland or Siberia, and those who, conceding these so-called rights, and having no sympathy or affiliation with the Garrisonians, restricted their efforts to the resisting of endeavors to extend slavery into the territories where the institution could have no legal claim, and to the adding to the number of slave States. To raise a voice against the aggressions of slavery was, by very many, precisely the same as acting against slavery where it had a legal footing. And in every stage of the agitation, from the moral protest against the evil, say in 1831, to the firing of the first gun upon Fort Sumter, the pastors of the churches had, with few exceptions, what was practically "due notice" to keep their lips sealed on the institution which Wesley had stigmatized as "the sum of all villanies." It should be added that, in perhaps every congregation, the Catholic and Episcopal excepted, there was at first only a minority that insisted that the pastor should heed the notice; while at a later date the majority of parishioners, particularly in the Methodist communions, warmly and with pure conscience sustained the pastor who bore strong testimony against the insolent and tyrannical champions of slavery propagandism, or who were under the lead of the propagandists.

Has any one occasion to ask how A. A. Miner accepted the situation; how he bore himself; what was his record? Many pages could be crowded with particulars of the attempt to overawe the clergy and of the way in which Mr. Miner and those of like courage met the endeavor. It must suffice to note what he said, the position he took in view of the new contingency, by referring to the use he made of an historic opportunity.

Mr. Miner was appointed by the city government of Boston its orator for the commemoration of the Fourth of July, 1855. The excitement incident to two attempts, both successful, to enforce the Fugitive Slave Law in Boston—the rendition of Thomas Sims and Anthony Burns—had somewhat subsided, yet the events left bitter memories and occasioned deep resentments between those who on the one hand favored the law as a constitutional requirement, and who also favored its enforcement on the ground that it was law; and those on the other hand, who believed that it was made of no effect, in that it was contrary to the Higher Law and the pure conscience. Mr. Miner was a believer in the Divine Law, and, the conspicuous occasion being given him, he was persuaded that a commemoration of an epoch of liberty made it his duty to state and defend his position as respects the odious national legislation. On legal grounds the pro-slavery party, of course, had the advantage. It could say: “Ours is a government of law—without law we have anarchy. It is not less anarchy to elect what law we will obey and what we will defy. To refuse obedience to this particular law is to elect. If we plead that our consciences protest

against it and that we must obey the conscience rather than the law, we simply give to everybody a precedent for the nullifying of every or any law should he happen to fancy that every or any law is contrary to the behests of his particular conscience." This was rather rigid logic, that in form at least seemed to place those who put obstacles in the way of the fugitive act, to some disadvantage. It was a bold position to take, and the argument of the crisis was mainly concentrated upon it. In his oration, Mr. Miner met the problem with argument, "tinged," indeed, "with emotion." Defining liberty as inclusive of moral qualities, as containing "all the elements of righteousness," so that "its law is authoritative in its own right," he makes the proposition: "To this authority all human laws should bow," and he adds: "When legislation is in conflict with the immutable law of Nature, *that legislation is void.*" The application needed no formal statement; it meant the law of Congress for the rendition of human beings who had escaped from bondage. He quotes Milton: "Though it were possible for you to disavow our statute, or other public sanction, which ascribes to the King tyrannical power, since that would be repugnant to the will of God, to nature, and to right reason, you may learn from this general and primary law of ours, that it will be null and void." He quotes the decision of an English court: "An Act of Parliament made against natural equity *would be void.*" He finds this in Blackstone: "The Law of Nature being coeval with mankind, and dictated by God himself, is of course superior in obligation to any other." From Cudworth he gives this: "Covenants

without natural justice are nothing but mere words and breath, and therefore *they can have no force to oblige.*" Other citations from different legalists and moralists are given, all to the same purport. He cites the case of Daniel defying a statute of King Darius. He does not forget the example of the Apostle Paul, when, as "a teacher of his Lord and Master, he found himself confronted with Jewish officials, evoking from him the declaration: "*Whether it be right in the sight of God to hearken unto you more than unto God, judge ye.*" That the course of conduct thus implied is not anarchical, the orator explains: "Such a conscience will not, from mere whim, rush upon a career of rebellion. If it falls under the dominion of an unrighteous law, it will resign office if it holds it; it will refuse co-operation if the law commands it; *it will suffer the vengeance of the law* if it dare inflict it." ¹

In all the sequences of the slavery agitation up to and through the terrible ordeal of the Rebellion—the anxieties and the alternate hopes and fears incident thereto, no person can make fully intelligible to the younger generation—Dr. Miner's voice never gave an

¹ This reasoning failed to win the approval of not a few high and influential in the affairs of Church and State. One of the most eminent and accomplished divines of the Unitarian denomination regarded it as a subtle evasion of an unequivocal even if unpleasant duty, and he publicly averred that citizens have no option—they must be obedient to the law. One of his public addresses contained a statement which reporters understood to be something like this: "If the law demanded it of me I would sell my mother into slavery"; or else like this: "If the preservation of the Union required it I would surrender my mother to the slaveholder." It was subsequently denied by his friends that any such words or sentiments came from his lips. Yet his position, that of unhesitating obedience to the law, is logically inclusive of the statement.

uncertain sound. It was to him a thing inconceivable that any considerable proportion of the people could so insult the civilization of the nineteenth century as seriously to propose the strengthening of the institution of slavery, by extending its area and giving to it a national character. With prayer, sermon, speech, and act he stood firm for his imperilled country, and for the Union and Liberty, one and inseparable. And in the unspeakable joy with which Faneuil Hall and the Old South Meeting House were crowded, when the news came of Lee's surrender, no orator of the ever memorable day was more exultant or more eloquent than Dr. A. A. Miner.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

ANTAGONISM TO PAPAL POLITICS.

DR. MINER in the later years had become apprehensive of the designs and, in certain particulars, of the achievements of the Catholic Church. He saw in its attacks upon the public schools, in its withdrawing of the children of Catholic parents from the public into parochial schools dominated by the priesthood, in its scheming to get a division of the school fund that a part of it might be diverted to its own uses, and in its meddlesomeness with political and civil affairs, a growing danger, and one that must be promptly met and overcome, or else the rule of the people by the people would become the rule of the priesthood in the interests of the Papal Church. As long ago as 1855, in his Boston Fourth of July oration, he publicly committed himself to a position against the Catholic Church, in reference to these particulars. The impregnability and seriousness of the situation grew upon him as he reflected upon it, and in the last decade of his life it seemed to him the most momentous question of the day,—that of the suppression of the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors alone excepted. These are his words, quoted from the printed oration :

“I can by no means be indifferent to the intolerant attitude of the Romish Church. Free thought is confessedly her foe.

She does not present herself as an educating, a paternal counsellor, a help to Christian discernment, but as a ruler,—as Christ's Vicegerent among men, as an authoritative commander. In denying the right of private judgment she assumes despotic power in the citadel of highest interests; her history abundantly shows that, in harmony with the assumption, she has never been reluctant to take under her especial guardianship the whole circle of human interests. Her intolerance is thus intrenched in the very heart of her system."

In no one particular did Dr. Miner antagonize so many of his brethren as in the persistence and cumulative vehemence with which, "in season and out of season," in his pulpit, in Convention, on even temperance platforms, in the meetings of his ministerial brethren, he followed up the course of conduct which the orator of forty years ago prophesied and outlined.

The truth of Christianity being assumed, the assumption includes its rightfully authoritative supremacy over all the interests and the conduct of rational and moral beings. The truths it communicates none may presume to gainsay. The law of righteousness it declares and exemplifies, and it commands the obedience of the individual, of the community, of the nation. Christianity *is*—if we concede its truth—"Christ's vicegerency among men"; it *is* "an authoritative command"; it *does* "assume despotic power" in the sense that it is not to be questioned "in the citadel of highest interests." In the estimation of its devotees, and in all of its many and variant interpretations, Christianity is all of this, or it is nothing. In fact, every Protestant minister, as well as every priest, *commands* men as individuals and

also as nations — of course, never as speaking for or from himself, but as the exponent and channel of the truth and the will of God in Christ Jesus.

What, then, is the peculiarity of the Catholic Church? Wherein does its word of authority savor of priestly assumption, while the Protestant word of authority is every way legitimate and proper? The distinction which these questions imply is vital. It must be distinctly apprehended at the very beginning of all discussion of the Catholic question, else all statements on the general subject will be "confusion worse confounded." The ablest champion of the claims of the Catholic Church which the century has produced, the late Orestes A. Brownson, made the statement, with the approving consent of his bishop, that Christianity and the Catholic church are *convertible terms*; that neither *implies* the other, but each *is* the other; that, while we may truly say of the human soul that it has a body, we cannot truly say of the Christian truth that in the Church it has an organism, for it *is* the organism and the organism is *it*. While, therefore, the Protestant by his own concession simply gives an interpretation, the Catholic Church is the truth, and apart from it interpretation is precluded. When the Protestant speaks, he may be gainsaid. When the Catholic Church speaks, it is the voice of God.

Now, to all this, Dr. Miner raised no objection other than this, in its way indeed very serious but quite legitimate, — he did not believe it. Argumentatively, he thought it preposterous; but he thought the same of Calvinistic orthodoxy, even of Arminian orthodoxy. In his own way of stating his position, he habitually

insisted that he had no other than an argumentative quarrel with Catholicism. That Church had as good a right to its opinions as he had to his own. The question whether either set of opinions is true is a wholly distinct matter. The right of private judgment was just as precious to the Catholic, even if in theory he waived it, as it was to himself. He often said that certain of the Catholic dogmas, particularly that of purgatory, he deemed far more reasonable, far less philosophically objectionable, than that of hopeless doom fixed at death. What, then, was the peculiarity of the Catholic in which the offensiveness, the matter that justified apprehension, inhered? Simply this: *The Catholic Church claims the right to COERCE the obedience which it commands.* Christ commanded, but told Peter to put up his sword. He commanded, but never sought to enforce obedience by physical force. He commanded, but for compliance relied exclusively on the self-executing power of the truth itself.

It cannot be denied that if the appeal be made to history as to the coupling of the rightful moral command with outward coercion, — with arbitrary penalties and pains, — the departure from the example of the Master is by no means wholly on the side of the Catholic: the Inquisition may not be wholly matched by the persecution which drove the Puritans into exile, nor by the cruel oppressions practised upon the Dutch Arminians by the Calvinistic party in power. The evil which makes so much of ecclesiastical history a scandal, in its essence is neither Catholic nor Protestant, neither Anglican nor Scotch; it is human nature unenlightened

— human nature professing the Christ the spirit whereof it does not feel or understand.

Again, what is the offensiveness peculiar to Catholicism? It is the enforcing of commands deemed moral by outward compulsion in a hierarchy that, like the Mede and Persian law, cannot change; *that is firmly held by decrees which are pronounced infallible*; that by its fixed constitution cannot consistently admit new ideas.

So much for the principle; but here is a serious incident: the Church is a unit, *and can concentrate all its powers upon any particular policy*. Protestantism is scattered force, kept so by sectarian jealousies, and hence *as weak for evil ends* as confessedly it is for those which are good — the particular ends, let it be understood, which it may seek by outward policy.

Very likely Dr. Miner, in the heat of controversy, in the mental disturbance occasioned by some papal manifesto that came to him with a special sting, may have let some utterances escape his lips not in full accord with the general statement here submitted: his critics will insist that he did; his champions, apologists if they are to be so called, need not deny the impeachment. Yet is it certain that had exactly such a statement as is here outlined been submitted to him in his life in the flesh, he would have accepted every word without demurring. The twofold peculiarity, as it is here analyzed and defined, would, to his judicial judgment, have been ample ground for, ample justification for, any demand that he should make, all the strictures he was accustomed to make, in his impeachment of political Catholicism, and of his intense warnings to beware of the foe that walketh

stealthily and seeks its ends by indirection, — a Satan never so dangerous as when wearing the garb of an angel of light.

Any attempt to portray Dr. Miner as a Melanchthon would be preposterous. It would deceive no one, and would revolt his friends as a grotesque disfigurement. No, in every drop of his blood he was a Luther; and in Luther's day with Luther's thought he would have gone to the Diet of Worms, and had he been confronted "by as many devils as there were tiles upon the house-tops," even the devils would have trembled, even if they had not believed. When aroused, not doubting that he was battling with a foe that meant only evil, he knew no honeyed words, no arts of indirection, no compromising accents. Literally he flamed, the "air was blue," and every syllable was a missile that struck home. If for a moment there was velvet, on the instant the claw came through. He habitually distinguished between Catholicism as a Church and Catholicism as a hierarchy, and for the hierarchy, the logic of the facts as he saw them, warranted him in applying, despite the Catholic protest, the cognomen "Romanism." For the Church proper he had no harsh epithets, — as respects this his only contention was that of calm reason. But in "Romanism," in the "papal hierarchy," he saw simply a political power and a sinister political aim. The immense increase in the number and the organic strength of Catholics in the United States; the despotism which united nearly all their forces; the fact that the "despot" was a foreigner, without faith in or sympathy with the free institutions of the great American Republic; that

this foreign usurper presumed to meddle with American politics, making strong at the polls whatever party was ready to serve him rather than its country, — altogether kept the blood in A. A. Miner's veins boiling, particularly in the last decade of his life. If all of the speeches, sermons, printed articles, legislative protests and petitions, that came from him in this period were collected they would fill a large book.

The critics of Dr. Miner's attitude towards the politics of the Papacy — among whom were many of his friends, even admirers — replied that, whatever the logical sequence of Catholic premises in the particulars explained, it is a mistake to fancy that the possible sequences are necessarily the same; that this is not the age of Hildebrand, but of free schools, a free press, a free platform; that Protestants, outnumbering the Catholics by immense and permanent majorities, have only themselves to blame if the policy of a foreign prelate should subvert our free institutions; that, in fact, a startling crisis, where papal schemes subversive of freedom were unmistakable, would bring the people to the rescue, provided they were worthy of their intellectual, civil, and religious liberties. This reasoning, however, Dr. Miner deemed fallacious, and he believed that the facts of history were against it, and that it was vain to rest in an assumption of idle security while the enemy were sowing tares: and, truth to say, he had at command rather alarming facts in proof that despite their minority the party of the priesthood had the control of politics, particularly of the municipalities, to an extent that might well alarm a free people.



CHAPTER XXXIV.

THE PREACHER AND ORATOR.

THE art of public speaking, as analyzed by the masters of rhetoric, includes many varieties of form and purpose. Every one who has listened to George W. Curtis, Ralph Waldo Emerson, Edwin H. Chapin, and Henry Ward Beecher; to Caleb Cushing, Rufus Choate, Edward Everett, and Daniel Webster, could but be deeply impressed with the radical differences which made of each an embodiment of a distinct species of the orator. The bare thought of Beecher attempting the manner of Chapin, or of Chapin making the style of Beecher his model; of the scintillating, half-dreaming Emerson seeking to express himself in the lucid, orderly prose of Curtis; or of the verbose, eccentric, quaint, and marvelously fluent Choate speaking in the sombre, cumulative periods of Webster, — evokes at once a sense of the grotesque.¹ "Every genius is unique." The late Edwin

¹ It was the never-to-be-forgotten privilege of the present biographer to be one of the immense throng that listened to Daniel Webster on occasion of his last speech in Faneuil Hall, for two hours holding, with the strength and enthusiasm of youth, by the iron pickets that surround the rostrum. A few months before this occasion, the Abolitionists had been refused the use of the "Cradle of Liberty," on the ground that further agitation of the slavery question, particularly of the so-called "Omnibus Bill," — which included a surrender of the "Wilmot Proviso," and the acceptance of the "Fugitive Slave

P. Whipple, a master with hardly a peer in the talent for analyzing the mental gifts of others, was particularly clear and instructive in an endeavor to point out the difference that separated John C. Calhoun from his great senatorial rival, Webster. Calhoun, he said, had a mind strictly analytic. He had no faculty for the handling of details. Items of knowledge, facts superficially separate from one another, he never could hold, much less apply. He at once seized on the basal principle. If he could maintain this he carried his point — his conclusion was irresistible. If that was broken, his position was hopelessly lost. The genius of Webster, on the contrary, was rigidly synthetic. It sent out feelers and tendrils in every direction. It seized upon and put in logical order any number of facts the significance of which was not at all apparent if viewed as isolated

Act," — was dangerous to the public peace. Shortly after, the friends of the statesman — the chief agent in causing the passage of the Bill — petitioned for the use of the hall that Mr. Webster might address his fellow-citizens in reference to his course as a Senator. Imperative consistency compelled the "City Fathers" to consider the public peace in reference to Mr. Webster and his admirers as they had just considered it in reference to Mr. Garrison and his co-workers. The great man did not take their action kindly. When, however, a change was made in the city government at the succeeding municipal election, Mr. Webster readily accepted an invitation proffered under the new auspices. It gave him an incentive for one of the many compact satires which came so naturally from his inventive brain. Standing with his characteristic self-possession and casting his eyes deliberately over the immense assemblage, he exclaimed in slow and ponderous accents: "Well, this is Faneuil Hall — open!" It took no time to make the application, and for what seemed a good five minutes the applause was deafening. On a subsequent occasion, at which the writer was also present, Mr. Choate made mention of the episode, in terms that characteristically marked the difference between the two orators — the quoting is from memory: "At the magic name of Webster, the doors of Old Faneuil opened wide, on golden hinges turning!"

items, but when, in Apostolic phrase, "builded together," made an argument seemingly irrefragable. To crush Calhoun it was needful to do no more than send the dart into a single point — the heart of his position. Napoleon, almost uniformly successful, planned to mass his forces upon the weakest point in his enemies' line of battle. Webster's argumentation never had a weakest or a strongest point. Its strength lay in an aggregate of many particulars. To carry the position against him it was needful to strike down in succession every particular in the long line.

Doubtless even of the class of readers or hearers who may rightfully be called intelligent, who take in and practically appreciate the different effects of the many styles of oratory and rhetoric, very few are even qualified discriminatingly to apply the analytic tests set down in the manuals, or would care to do so even were the task within the limits of their capabilities. Yet two quite dissimilar styles of address it may be helpful to distinguish, even in terms somewhat technical — the style which makes the thought, the matter of discourse, particularly dominant, — the practical application, the end desired, being left to come of itself; and the exactly opposite style in which the end desired is consciously dominant, itself seemingly selecting the matter of thought, shaping and painstakingly directing it to the consummation devoutly wished. In the one case, if the wind comes from the west, the craft will unmistakably move to the east, even though no course is mapped out, no eye on the compass, no hand on the tiller. In the other case, the port to be entered is

never out of the navigator's mind, and every turning of the sails, every glance at the compass, every movement of the rudder, is thoughtfully done with a view to the objective point. The argument from design, or of final causes, technically called "teleological," is the theological form of the style in which a desired end dominates and selects whatever precedes as cause working thereto. Atheistic evolution — not to be confused with that insisted upon by John Fiske, which is rigidly and severely theistic — the notion of a natural selection that does not *purposely* select, is the most remarkable example of the style which does indeed think, but never to any outlined purpose; it is blind thought working out results, but with absolute indifference and thoughtlessness as to the character of the results. If the reader is desirous of forming a just estimate of the mental endowments of Alonzo A. Miner, particularly of those which make him the equal of the greatest and the peer of very few, careful attention must be given to the distinction here briefly described. It furnishes the key to his greatness in the company of the positively great.

By a coincidence which now seems a fortunate one, the biographer heard Dr. Miner in two public discourses, not long separated by time, in which he appeared in the two "styles" which have just been defined. In a sermon from the text, "Thou openest thine hand and satisfiest the desire of every living thing" (Psalm cxlv. 16), he began with a careful discrimination: the desires that are natural in the vital regard of being in harmony with all nature, must not be confounded with their perversion in gross appetite and unregulated

passion. Then came the successful endeavor to vindicate the divine goodness from aspersion cast upon it by certain schools of theologians; and by pertinent facts and illustrations he sought to show that God is graciously mindful of his creatures, alike in the world of animal and man. The effect of the sermon was good; it strengthened faith in God, belief in his lovingkindness, and trust in his merciful intentions, even when veiled in mystery, often in ways that are dark to the superficial understanding. But nowhere did the sermon pre-announce or even hint the intention of such an effect — of any effect. Nowhere did any of its thoughts seem to be consciously aimed at the producing of an effect. The preacher simply unfolded his thought, and the thought of its own action produced the effect. The arrow hit a target, but it was shot forth with no apparent taking of aim.

Experts in the art of Sacred Rhetoric have insisted that the style thus indicated makes, with pertinent themes, the ideal sermon. They further explain that the true sermon is literally a growth from an idea, and hence quite dissimilar from the argument, or dissertation, or essay, or exposition, which, from the first word to the last, is consciously constructed, the parts being mechanically put together with constant view to an end, like the construction of a building in accordance with the plans and specifications of the architect. However this may be, growth as distinguished from construction is most notable in many of the sermons of F. W. Robertson — which, though formally divided into parts, are directed in obedience to the claims of the subject-matter

rather than of a foreseen end—and in most of the “Sermons of Christian Endeavor” by James Martineau. Even the artificiality of the sermons of “dear Old Hugh Blair”—always interesting and helpful despite their lack of brilliancy—is determined by considerations of the text rather than of a specific end. Few of Dr. Miner’s thoughtful friends will claim that in this so-called sermonic style he was at his best; his genius was synthetic rather than analytic, though he was a master of analysis when the synthetic endeavor called for the analytic as tributary.

Not long after this experience as a hearer of Dr. Miner’s sermon, came that crisis in the financial affairs of Tufts College, in which even the smallest gift in money came as food to the famishing. By many precedents Massachusetts was committed to the policy of encouraging, by money appropriations, different colleges in different parts of the State,—of course not in the interest of any creed or sect under the auspices of which the colleges might be administered, but in the interests of sound education, ever the same in every institution of learning, and ever needful to the welfare of the Commonwealth. In common with others, Tufts College petitioned for an appropriation—the petition designating fifty thousand dollars. The petition went to the proper committee, and Mr. Miner, at the time having no connection with the college other than that of trustee, was, of course, the “counsellor.” The college was well represented in the presence of its first president, the late Hosea Ballou, 2d, the late Silvanus Packard, and others. The “gentlemen of the com-

mittee" were at the outset officially respectful and attentive; they soon lost the stiff, formal attitude of men having a grave responsibility, and took all manner of shapes in their respective chairs as they came under the spell of a discovery that a master pleader was before them; at times they so far forgot the reserve proper to their official capacity as to applaud. When the last word was spoken, there was no need of another — the "fort was taken!" On the adjournment, members of the committee shook the hands of the orator who had taken them captive and were unable to suppress words of congratulation. One of the committee, noting the youngest man in the group of petitioners, came to the writer of this, full of emotion, exclaiming, "Have you any more like him? In heaven's name why is he not in the Senate at Washington?" The comprehensive and sufficient comment is, that the committee reported a bill recommending the appropriation; the usual battle between the "watch-dogs" of the treasury and the true friends of sound learning was long and intense — John A. Andrew leading the cause of the petitioners — and Tufts College got the fifty thousand dollars.

So much for the occasion and the happy result. Of the address or plea, this is to be said: There was no bare unfolding of ideas; there were no flourishes of rhetoric in the cause of education; there was no simply implied argument lacking its form; there was no statement of commonplaces, leaving the effect to take care of itself. The plea was not a sermon as it has but just now been technically defined. From the first

accent to the final pause, the speaker had in his mind, and every word was controlled by, the intent of getting the fifty thousand dollars. No ideas, much less words, had place in the argument unless it was thought they would help win the assent of the committee. In that collection of great speeches, "Select British Eloquence," the compiler and editor, Dr. Chauncey A. Goodrich, gives generous place to the mysterious "Junius." Analyzing his letters, he notes as a lesson to be learned from him: "The art of throwing away *unnecessary ideas*." He adds: "A large proportion of thoughts which rise to the mind in first considering a subject are not *really essential* to its clear and strong development. No one ever felt this more strongly than Junius." It was often complained of Edmund Burke that, while he seemed to possess all knowledge, he could not speak on even a simple subject without telling all he knew. In his plea before the committee Mr. Miner was true to the example of the great but so far unknown author of the "Letters" that almost drove poor George III. to madness. He would say nothing, hint nothing, think nothing, except as word, hint, and thought seemed to promise success to his cause.

Trying to recall the address at this remote day, three points distinctly recur: 1. The Commonwealth is committed by many precedents to the generous support of institutions of learning; 2. Every new college under the auspices of a particular denomination will inevitably draw to its halls a class of students that can be reached by no competing school; 3. *Sound education is in the end corrective of unsound religious doctrine.*

It is distinctly remembered that, on the announcement of the third proposition, the gentlemen of the committee—gentlemen they indeed were—exchanged the attitude of official dignity for that of unconscious ease, began to open their eyes to an unwonted width, pointed their ears in the direction of an unobstructed hearing, and it was unmistakable that ideas both new and clear were pouring into their several understandings. Said the speaker in substance: “Gentlemen, it is an axiom that sound learning is at once the support of sound doctrine and the relentless foe of doctrines not true. *You* will concede that if time shall prove the Universalist doctrine to be true, it ought to be maintained, it is best for the Commonwealth that it be maintained; *we* concede that if Universalist doctrines are *not* true, the successful operation of our college is in the end to be their destruction, in which event you *will* rejoice and we *ought* to rejoice. *We take the risk*, and call for the appropriation that must be ruinous to our doctrines if they lack the savor of divine truth.” The great Burke might have managed the case far worse: could the great “Junius” have managed it better? However this may be, the victory was won, and members of the committee and of the Legislature and of the general community began to discover that a new candidate for place among the great men of New England had appeared, and was certain to win, in the person of Alonzo Ames Miner, pastor of the Second Universalist Society, on School Street, Boston.

In this effort to describe the oratorical gift, the particular quality of the gift, in which Dr. Miner had few

peers, even in the category that includes the master speakers in both State and Church, numerous examples might be given, though, so far as the biographer has knowledge, the plea for a State bequest to Tufts College was his masterpiece, as was the reply to Hayne the greatest of Daniel Webster's oratorical triumphs. The few brethren who were present were thoughtful to repress the words of eulogy which were struggling for vocalization, but when they met in confidential conclave, President Ballou was unusually copious in his somewhat peculiar manner of expressing his satisfaction — the striking of his right hand upon his knee, rigidly holding his lips in silence. When reports of the scene began to circulate, the "I wish I had been there" was the regretful ejaculation of not a few.

That cannot rightly be called eloquence which simply states but fails to impress. Dr. Miner compelled people to hear, even if they did not take kindly the things which they heard. If they remembered even to revolt they still remembered. To "cultured" Boston his philippics against the sale and use of inebriating drinks were not palatable, but they were impressive notwithstanding. The bitter retorts which they evoked are the proof that they arrested attention. Rev. Dr. C. W. Biddle thoughtfully calls attention to an interesting paragraph in the book, "Figures of the Past," in which the author, the late Josiah Quincy, in commenting on the punch that was freely drunk at the City's expense, makes the comment that there was then no Dr. Miner to protest against the misapplication of municipal funds — incidental proof that the temperance agitator's words



were heard even in fashionable circles.¹ Numerous examples could be added to illustrate the claim here made for Dr. Miner, that, when seeking a particular end, he had the true eloquence, — that which compels people to hear, to remember, — not always, however, in the kindly temper manifested by Mr. Quincy.

¹ The paragraph to which Dr. Biddle refers is worthy of citation in this connection, and is pertinent in its peculiar mention of Dr. Miner. It has reference to the city's reception of Lafayette by the Boston Light Infantry, of which Mr. Quincy was an officer : —

“ At the city line, where we had a good wait, we were furnished with bread and cheese, at the expense of the municipality, and (*credite posteri !*) with free punch. The excellent Dr. Miner had not then arrived upon the scene, and we had no one to tell us that the provision of this seductive fluid was an unwarrantable employment of the city funds. Had any one proposed to provide free books at the expense of the tax-payers, there would have been much indignation. We should have been aghast at the impudence of such a proposal ; but a few glasses of punch was another matter. We have changed our views here in Boston since those good old times, and changed them much for our advantage.”

CHAPTER XXXV.

CHARACTERISTICS.

RALPH WALDO EMERSON makes the note that those who listened to Lord Chatham felt something finer than anything he said; that the facts recorded of Mirabeau do not justify the popular estimate of his genius; that the exploits of Washington are small when compared to his personal weight. "Somewhat resided in these men which begot an expectation that outruns all their performance." Describing this personality which cannot be defined, it may be said to command, to overawe, to neutralize opposition, to assert itself without apparent reasons. This quality has taken a first place in the technology of modern religious thought, in the "Christo-centric," — the endeavor to separate Christ from his teachings, he being the way, the truth, and the life, rather than the words he spoke. Biography is essentially a description of characteristics set in events and utterances. The purpose of this book is an attempt to present, in the proportions of just perspective, the peculiarities of Alonzo A. Miner as they revealed themselves in what he said and did. It seems well, however, to make one of its features an attempt to isolate, as far as may be practicable, his personality from his career, — to abstract his characteristics and group them in a symmetrical statement.

1. First of all, Dr. Miner's *personal presence* is to be noted. Relatively few men have greatness so conspicuously stamped upon their physical environment. Something less than half a century ago two men sat in the United States Senate whose exteriors told unmistakably of the greatness within — Salmon P. Chase, afterwards Chief Justice, and by pre-eminence, Daniel Webster. A. A. Miner belonged to this small and singularly favored group. Had political ambition placed him in a senatorial chair his mere bearing would have put him in the same category with Chase and Webster. Whenever he passed up the aisle of a church or sat or stood upon the platform, he seemed to fill the auditorium; if not indeed so Websterian as the great Statesman, he in no small measure exhibited the physical equipment that commands. The photographer or the portrait painter, in attempting to catch his expression, could hardly do his work so poorly as to hide the greatness of his subject.

“See what a grace was seated on this brow;
An eye like Mars, to threaten and command,
A station like the herald Mercury
New lighted on a heaven kissing hill;
A combination and a form indeed,
Where every god did seem to set his seal
To give the world assurance of a man.”

Prominent among particulars of which the Boston newspapers made mention after his death, was the well-known figure of Dr. Miner mounted on his horse and passing along the Boston streets. It was a presence indeed and a carriage that not infrequently brought

pedestrians upon the sidewalk to a sudden stop. Sad to say, the noble animal was not always sure-footed, and at times he treated his master rudely, though the master always insisted that he never did so intentionally! But usually his was a steady, measured, graceful pace, as if proud of his human burden. The picture was unique, and the photographer did not miss the opportunity. This imperial bearing, sustained by corresponding gifts, made him chairman, moderator, president, — whatever the title might be, — in nearly every assembly in the work of which he was engaged. When the clergy of Boston and vicinity felt constrained to publish a memorial protesting against the secularization of the Lord's Day, Dr. Miner must head the commission and prepare the document. When the most noted preacher of New England, if not of the world, — Bishop Brooks, — suddenly passed away, and the historic Old South was thronged at a memorial service to be participated in without recognition of sectarian lines, Dr. Miner must preside and give the introductory address. His personality was constraining. However easy it might be to differ from him in thought, there was a difficulty in its expression if he were present. His brethren often antagonized him in the argument, but they were not infrequently embarrassed in antagonizing simply *him*.

2. The personality which has been described might on a just analysis prove to be but the aggregate of all the higher characteristics of the man; yet, whether as a lesser included in the greater, or as an additional and distinct element, *an aggressive integrity* dominated all the thinking and the conduct of A. A. Miner. There are

those whose integrity literally commands as well as influences. Men of low moral standards fear them, are disturbed by their presence. The atmosphere surrounding this highest moral type seems to penetrate and bear stinging rebuke to the unworthy. The integrity that puts upon evil intents an interdict, that includes the faculty to restrain and constrain, that is beyond the possibility of being misconceived, that the tongue of slander never assails, foreseeing that its malign words will not be believed,—cannot be believed,—such is the degree and positiveness of integrity that may best be designated as aggressive. At the stage now reached by evolving human nature, this imperial conscience is very rarely seen and felt. Such was the integrity of A. A. Miner; and it explains the fact, which at times was painfully notable, of the facility with which designing men, particularly pretenders, imposed upon his artless sympathy, and this by tricks which to most of his brethren were as glass.

3. Dr. Miner had in ample measure a large number of intellectual gifts the nature and use of which have given matter for no small proportion of this work, the abstracting of which in isolated description may be waived. One example, that of legal ability in unfolding a thought, or in massing facts, with a view to carrying a point, has been described as explaining his masterly influence over legislative committees. This talent, as has been told, showed itself in his argument for the retention of prohibitory legislation, when ex-Governor Andrew was counsel on the other side, and in his successful plea for a State appropriation to Tufts

College. It was, however, so towering a talent, so distinctively a characteristic, that a further word may be ventured. It was a common remark, of critics more than of friends, that he was a "*born lawyer*." He had the forensic instinct, and though without the training, he was in his element in whatever was analogous to courts of law. The late E. A. Alger, Esq., used to tell a story quite personal to himself pertinent in this connection. A case of discipline occasioned by a matter of denominational contention was introduced into another organization, in which Mr. Miner was prosecutor. The party accused employed Mr. Alger as counsel. Mr. Miner decided to be both counsel and prosecutor. Said Mr. Alger: "Being in my own element, and one to which Mr. Miner was wholly strange, I expected an easy victory,—that which the disciplined soldier reasonably expects when confronting a raw militia-man,—and I went into the contest with much confidence. In fact, I never before or since got such a 'whacking' from even a trained member of the bar!" When in Lowell Mr. Miner obtained an interest in a financial enterprise the affairs of which had got into serious disorder. A meeting of the stockholders and directors was called, with a view to investigation and to the action needful to be taken. The late Samuel Burbank of that city was present. Years after, the writer of this biography being his guest, Mr. Burbank gave him particular incidents of the meeting. As the reports were read, the whole matter seemed to be one of hopeless confusion. One person after another arose and made an endeavor to throw light on the crooked ways in which the affairs

had been mismanaged, but only to darken counsel with words. The situation was chaos. After a while Mr. Miner took the floor. Much surprise was felt; for what could a minister be expected to "know about business"? He asked of the officials a few questions, and light began to dawn. It soon appeared that he had got hold of the matter by its handle. As he went on the snarls came out. For the first time the real situation was made apparent. The speaker had got what no one else had seen,—the clue. Why, it was wonderful! The surprise that a minister should presume to know anything about business gave way for another surprise,—that nobody else knew anything about the business in hand, and that to him it was so clear, and that he so well knew how to make it clear to others. When he was through with his speech, the "affairs" were indeed not improved, but all knew what they were, and also knew what must be done. Mr. Samuel Lawrence—at the time superintendent or agent of the Middlesex Woollen Mills, a brother of Abbott and Amos, the Boston millionnaires and chief proprietors in the factories of Lowell—was present, and listened to Mr. Miner in great astonishment. Added Mr. Burbank: "On leaving the hall, Mr. Lawrence asked me, 'Is that the man who preaches in the Universalist Church on Shattuck Street?' I told him that he was. 'Well,' answered Mr. Lawrence, 'I never heard so clear a speech on a business matter from any one. If Mr. Miner will give up his preaching, we will make a place for him in our manufacturing business, and he may name his salary.'"

4. No attempt to enumerate the characteristics of Dr. Miner could ever approximate completeness if it failed to give great prominence to *his genius for repartee*. To assail him with crucial questions implying criticism of his opinions or positions, was a dangerous experiment. An instance is given in the chapter on the Methuen pastorate. It would be an easy matter to fill pages with examples in which unamiable critics, thinking they would annoy him by leading questions, or by subtle intimations, sincerely wished they had let him alone. In such encounters he was quite sure to leave his wounded behind him. One of the witnesses before the legislative committee, a reverend divine, Orthodox in theology, in order to imply the respectable character of wine-drinking parishioners, was so imprudent as to say, "When I call upon them, they think it no harm to invite me to take a glass of wine." "And do you take it?" asked Dr. Miner, throwing the large assembly into roars of uncontrollable laughter, as the gentleman, with color in his face, had to say, "I do." But after that what was his "testimony" worth? Once in a certain controversy he was boldly confronted with what his opponent called facts — not opinions, but facts. "Do you mean the real ones or those which Mr. Billings says 'ain't so'?" In an argument before a legislative committee, seeking the abrogation of the death penalty, a champion of the law kept vociferating, "It is our duty to hang men who are a danger to the community." Dr. Miner, in a side question, asked in low voice, "What class of maniacs do you refer to?" His horse, often left upon the street till his master re-

turned, one day took a notion to stand before a saloon. "Doctor," said a joking acquaintance, "your horse stands before a saloon!" "Yes, 'stands'; yours would have *gone in*." Dr. Miner had bought a few shares in a railroad that for months had been quoted at more than the par value. Suddenly it dropped to something like forty per cent. There had been no panic, no commercial revulsion, no wrecking accident. It was a clear case of official rascality, — a forcing up in order to sell, and now a forcing down in order to buy in. Dr. Miner started for the office of the president, but only the confidential clerk was in. To him, therefore, he addressed the question: "What is the salary of the president of this company?" Overawed by the personality of his visitor, he gave the answer that he might have withheld from another. "Twenty-five thousand dollars." "What is the salary of the treasurer?" "Ten thousand." "And what may your salary be?" "Five thousand." "That makes forty thousand dollars for only three officials. That seems a pretty liberal compensation." The secretary, explaining that he spoke only for the president and treasurer, responded: "But you can't get men with the ability to manage so large a corporation without paying large salaries." "But does it take so much talent to run the stock from par value to forty per cent in a week?"

5. Reference has been made to Dr. Miner's habit in speech-making of giving the speech that was in his mind rather than the one set down for him in the programme. Few better understood parliamentary law, the rules of order in a public assembly, than he; and when

the occasion had great pith and moment, great interests being involved, he could and would hew to the line with logical fidelity. But when the subject assigned him seemed for the hour to have less "pith and moment" than some other, he was often forgetful both of the prescribed theme and scheduled time. The *speech in his mind* panting for expression was quite sure to possess him and compel his utterance though at furthest remove from the "subject before the house"! Professor Sumner, in his *Life of Andrew Jackson*, says of him that his great success in the Battle of New Orleans gave such overawing popularity that he was raised above the Constitution and the laws, and hence often in defiance of law he "took the responsibility," arbitrarily doing things which, if done by another, might have given occasion for impeachment. Dr. Miner's clerical brethren were often moved to say: "Well, what a lawless brother Dr. Miner is!" But rarely did they say this in any accent of complaint. They often saw in his Jacksonian superiority to law something to move their risibles, and often when on being "presented" to speak on a particular subject, he at once started off upon a different one, it was with difficulty that the humor of the situation could be kept within the limits of inaudible expression.

6. Dr. Miner's *love for children* — of which examples are given in the chapter on his Methuen pastorate — was so profound that it merits mention as a commanding characteristic. He was wholly at the mercy of the little ones when in their company, and none knew the fact better than they. Once, while a little girl had him

in the leash, making him for the time indifferent to all else, a woman asked him if he himself had children. "No," said he, "but I wish I had forty!" He literally poached upon the territory of his neighbors, kidnapping the children who fell into his toils, taking them to his house, the parents, however, losing no sleep from anxiety. He gave the writer a little history in which he figures as kidnapper. He had lured into his house a bright little girl of five summers, but who in her own estimate was almost venerable, and whose "old" remarks intensely amused him. He kept her till after supper, the mother all the while knowing who had led her astray. The night had set in, and of course the "company" must be properly escorted to her home. He proposed in due form and with amiable gallantry to "see her home." She hesitated, not exactly apprehending his motive. Then he explained: "You know it is dark, and it is not safe for little girls to be on the street alone!" The explanation was fatal: it implied timidity on her part. With undisguised indignation she made the retort: "Do you take me for a baby?" The proffered gallantry was scornfully declined. Then there was a resort to strategy. Mrs. Miner led her to the door and bade her good-night. She started off in the gas-light, full of courage, and fancied that without a protector she was making her way to her not very distant door. The gallant gentleman whose kindness had met with so much disdain had, however, slipped out by a side door, and was peering over the fence, his eyes not turned from her till the paternal door had safely shut her in.

7. This chapter could easily be extended to great

length, but with the statement of another, and perhaps the noblest, of his characteristics, it must end. Dr. Miner's invincible truthfulness, inciting him to that directness of speech which never misses the word and tone that go to the quick, caused him to be most radically misapprehended in regard to one characteristic, touching which his intimate friends, and in sad emergencies even his most bitter assailants, had information that at times was even pathetic. A popular impression was, perhaps still is, that he lacked sympathy, — that, relentless as a censor, he was icy at heart. Many people seem impotent in any attempt to understand that the "woe unto you, scribes, Pharisees, hypocrites," can come from the same heart that could weep over the doom of the wicked and unbelieving city and at the grave of Lazarus. In truth, hardly any two traits more frequently mingle in the same character than the conscience that strikes at evil-doers, and the tenderness that weeps at the tale of sorrow. The author, having had most intimate acquaintance with his subject for more than half a century, knows whereof he affirms: he recalls many examples coming directly and indirectly under his observation, and he testifies that he never knew *a more tender, a more sympathetic soul*, one more ready to run on errands of mercy, than Dr. Miner. If in this biographical description any one characteristic should stand out distinctly, compelling just recognition, it is the very one that not a few presumed must be lacking. Many a time and oft has Dr. Miner called on the writer to make inquiries respecting this, that, or the other person, making no explanation: the explanation incidentally coming later,

that he was on some mission of relief and mercy. A certain person once said in homely phrase, but with almost reverential feeling, "that A. A. Miner will wear out more shoe-leather in trying to help some poor wretch than any man I ever knew." The phraseology might perhaps be improved on the score of "literary form," but could one man pay another a nobler tribute? In truth, Dr. Miner's sympathies often controlled him in contingencies when his brethren thought he should have kept them in abeyance. Often, too often, they made him the victim of imposture. Senator Charles Sumner had a sufficiently clear conception of the arts of slavery propagandists, but he knew nothing of "bribery and corruption," could hardly believe in the possibility of such a betrayal of trust. Madame de Staël says of Napoleon that his reading of character failed him when he was confronted by one having a pure conscience. Dr. Miner learned to see through the devices of political managers, but, himself incapable of deceit, he did not easily see deceit in others.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

END OF EARTH. — TRIBUTES.

THURSDAY, the 13th of June, 1895, Dr. and Mrs. Miner, in company with a goodly number of the friends of Dean Academy, attended the annual exercises of that school. As the procession moved from the station to the academy building in Franklin, the writer was so impressed with what seemed to him Dr. Miner's labored step, that he anxiously said to Dr. C. W. Biddle: "The Doctor's strength is evidently failing." After the exercises of the graduating class were through, in his office of President of the Trustees, he presented the diplomas with a brief word of commendation and of fatherly counsel. It is now easily remembered that his voice lacked its wonted strength: a recent fall from his horse, which had slipped on the pavement, was given by another as a possible explanation. At the banquet which followed, he spoke in renewed praise of the exercises in the chapel, and bore testimony as to the efficiency of the acting principal, Mr. H. R. Burrington, and to Principal L. L. Burrington, absent on account of illness, in both of whom he took great pride as his "boys on the Hill," — that is, as his students while in Tufts College. Leaving for Boston at about the hour of five, Dr. and Mrs. Miner, in search of more room, passed

by the writer to a rear car. He for a moment paused, and in pleasant allusion to portraits given in the "Christian Leader," in connection with a Veterans' Meeting held in Columbus Avenue, on the Sunday evening of the recent Anniversary Week, said to the writer: "That portrait of yours puts your head about as much too high as my portrait puts my head too low!" These were the last words the writer was ever to hear from the lips of his venerated friend of more than the years of a half-century. In the evening he fulfilled an engagement — it seems a most fitting, even providential coincidence — to give an address in an African church in Boston, — his last public word being spoken to the representatives of a once despised race! On the succeeding Friday morning a message came to the writer from Dr. Miner: "I shall be unable to fulfil an engagement to preach Sunday in Natick: will you go in my stead?" The illness was unmistakably serious. The symptoms rapidly grew more doubtful, and medical skill was promptly summoned. He was fully conscious, and knew that the end was near. He said to his wife: "Give my love to the ministers and tell them to be faithful!" At about the hour of four, Friday, June 14, his eyes closed in death, and a family, a church, a Christian denomination, and thousands of the unfortunate, mourned.

The funeral rites were held on the succeeding Tuesday, at the hour of noon. There was a brief service at the house on Columbus Avenue, Rev. S. H. Roblin, the pastor, reading appropriate Scripture, followed with prayer by Rev. C. A. Skinner. The casket was then borne to the church, where in the presence of an assembly that

crowded the auditorium from the platform not only to the entrance-ways, but to the street, the last rites were held under the general superintendence of Mr. A. A. Folsom. The church quartette rendered, "Come to Thee;" Rev. Dr. E. C. Sweetser read the Scriptures; Rev. Mr. Roblin and Rev. Dr. C. H. Leonard gave addresses; Rev. Dr. C. H. Eaton offered prayer; the quartette rendered an appropriate piece; Rev. Mr. Roblin closed the solemn service with the benediction. The casket was then borne to Forest Hills. The briefest statement of the service is given here, for the particulars reported in the "Christian Leader" of June 20, are all, with very slight abridgment, reprinted in the Appendix.

Many and tender were the tributes which immediately followed. The Universalist ministers at Ballou Hall in the Universalist Publishing House; the Universalist Club at its first meeting succeeding; the summer meeting at Weirs in the succeeding August; the conventions; the Trustees of Tufts College; his Church and the churches, — indeed, nearly every organization under the auspices of the Universalist denomination, — by resolutions or memorial service, felt moved to pay grateful tribute to the great man of the denomination, whose services thereto, and to all of its auxiliaries, were literally beyond estimate. The total of these tributes would of themselves make a volume. On Sunday evening, November 10, an elaborate Memorial Service was held in Columbus Avenue Church, with addresses by Rev. Messrs. S. H. Roblin, J. Coleman Adams, Edward Everett Hale, H. I. Cushman, and E. H. Capen. All

the particulars except a few omissions, reprinted from the "Christian Leader," are given in full in the Appendix, making needless in this connection more than a general statement.

Tributes from without the denomination were hardly less eulogistic than were those that came from within. The Boston "Globe" interviewed a large number of clergymen and reported. Rev. Dr. L. B. Bates, pastor of the Bromfield Street Methodist Episcopal Church, thus spoke of Dr. Miner's death: "Dr. Miner dead! Can it be? Know ye not that a great man and a prince of our Israel is fallen? How for half a century he has stood for the right against all foes — sometimes all alone! He had the kindest feelings toward all men. Time, talent, and money he freely gave to help the struggling and needy. The poorest had in him a friend." Rev. Frederick M. Gardner, pastor of the Central Square Baptist Church, East Boston, said: "Few men have been so generally honored by all sects, and few have so fully deserved the confidence of all. Boston has been richly blessed by his useful life, and Boston truly mourns his death." Rev. Frederick Woods, pastor of the Saratoga Street M. E. Church, East Boston, said: "I have always venerated Dr. Miner as a heroic, honorable, and eloquent defender of righteousness. He was a champion who feared not the face of man." Rev. George B. Vosburgh, pastor of the Stoughton Street Baptist Church, Dorchester, said: "In the death of Dr. Miner Boston will lose a sweet-spirited, devout, earnest, Christian man; a man who was broad in his views, and desirous of helping his fellow-man in all ways possible."

Rev. W. H. Allbright, pastor of the Pilgrim Congregational Church, Dorchester, said: "In the death of Dr. Miner, the city of Boston is sorely afflicted. His loss cannot be made good. He filled a unique and influential place." Rev. M. D. Kneeland, of the Roxbury Presbyterian Church, said: "The church forces of Boston have met with a great loss in the death of Dr. Miner. He was always true to his convictions, always sought the best interests of the community along the line of temperance, Sabbath-keeping, worship, and Christianity." Rev. A. S. Gumbart, pastor of the Dudley Street Baptist Church, said: "Dr. Miner was keen, true, heroic, earnest, and diligent in advocating such measures as would prevent the advance of unrighteousness, and which were conducive to a better condition of affairs in the political and social life of the city. His death should be an incentive to young men to press forward into a place of usefulness." Rev. D. N. Beach, pastor of the Prospect Street Congregational Church, Cambridgeport, said: "Dr. Miner stood for certain things with great tenacity and strength, and his purity of motive, his integrity, and his spotlessness of character commanded for him such respect, even from opponents, that his death deprives the community of a most vital moral force. As a leader in the temperance cause, as one protesting against every form of oppression, as the warm-hearted friend of almost every good movement, and of phases of religious thought needing emphasis, few surpassed him. He was a saint whom men of all opinions could not but recognize to be such, — a leader of the church universal." Rev. Wolcott

Calkins, pastor of the Eliot Congregational Church, Newton, said: "I had the highest admiration for him and his work. The ministry has sustained a great loss." Rev. George W. Shinn, D.D., of Grace Episcopal Church, Newton, said: "He was a noble man, and I think that his loss will be felt for a long time to come." The number of tributes in the same vein might be greatly extended.

The secular press, which had not been stinted in its severe criticism or censure of Dr. Miner, in view of his relentless attacks upon what he deemed its false attitude in respect to the reforms, temperance particularly, forgot its old-time animosity, and paid tribute to his genius, his versatile gifts, his unselfish devotion to what he deemed right and true. The societies—the number is great—with which he had worked in behalf of temperance, of the poor in wretched tenement houses, of the rescue of the Lord's Day from its growing desecrations, held memorial meetings, passed eulogistic resolutions, and in many addresses remembered the Christian, the reformer, the unselfish friend of the poor and the oppressed, the saintly hero, in the person of Alonzo A. Miner. The general testimony was explicit and cumulative that in his decease a great man even among the great—in his church, in his community, in his commonwealth, in his nation—had finished his earthly career, to receive the victor's crown.

It has appeared at different places in this biography that the relations between Dr. Miner and his wife were exceptionally happy,—that love was mutual and constant. The wife was ever demonstrative in her affec-

tion, and she was happy in that her expressions of love were not only graciously but gratefully welcomed. Her life was so merged in her husband's and his work that not a few had raised the question: In case she should survive him, could she bear up under the bereavement? The sequel was literally a sequence. When the ordeal came, it found her without the physical strength long to survive the shock. Her grief was too great for even the relief of tears: the relief was a paralytic shock from which she was not destined to recover. There were a few alternations of improvement and relapse, but the near fatal end was beyond the power of medical skill to avert. She died at 4.30 in the morning of Saturday, July 27, 1895. The "Christian Leader" of August 8 said of the last rites:—

"The funeral service of Mrs. Miner took place at the hour of one, Wednesday, July 31, at the house, 528 Columbus Avenue, Boston. The parlors, hall, and stairway could with difficulty contain the people who assembled. The Columbus Avenue parish was largely represented, five of its standing committee acting as pall bearers: Messrs. H. D. Williams, A. A. Folsom, Clinton Viles, Alden E. Viles, and McIvers Larrabee. Charity societies in which both of the deceased had taken a practical interest were represented. So were Tufts College by Hon. Newton Talbot and Hon. Charles Whittier, the Publishing House, the General Convention by its President, years ago a parishioner, Hon. H. B. Metcalf. There were also present four persons who were Dr. Miner's parishioners more than half a century ago in Lowell. Ministers, parishioners, friends united with the company of mourners to pay the tribute of respect to the earthly remains of Mrs. Maria S. P., widow of the late Rev. Dr. A. A. Miner. Floral tributes literally covered the casket.

"The solemn stillness was broken by the Albion Quartette, which rendered Dr. Miner's favorite hymn, 'There is a Wide-ness in God's mercy.' Rev. S. H. Roblin, the pastor, who had taken a journey of near six hundred miles to be present, read appropriate Scriptures. Rev. Dr. C. H. Leonard then gave an address. The quartette followed with 'We shall Meet beyond the River.' Rev. C. A. Skinner then led in fervent prayer. 'The Sweet By and By' was sung, and Rev. Mr. Roblin closed the service with the benediction.

"The casket was taken to the lot, corner of Mulberry Avenue and Ivy Path, Forest Hills, and the two caskets containing husband and wife were placed side by side in a common grave. Rev. Mr. Roblin pronounced the burial service, adding brief words. The venerable Rev. T. J. Sawyer, D. D., led in prayer, as with bowed heads the assembly stood by the grave. The benediction, pronounced by President E. H. Capen, closed the solemn service."

The belief with which this biography was begun, that a comprehensive view of the many and versatile gifts and achievements of its subject marks him as the greatest man in the history of Modern Universalism, has been strengthened as the task has been followed to what is now its close. The impression that his talents and achievements were far wider than any denominational limits has grown as the pages have multiplied. The monument to mark the resting-place of Alonzo Ames Miner will stand in the beautiful city of the dead, to arrest the attention of all who pass by, and for years to come to draw pilgrims to the hallowed spot. It is in memory of one whose great record is his chief monument. A church whose communicants are in nearly every State in the Union, and in many of the

Canadian Provinces ; a host of workers in the cause of sobriety and of self-control, despite the many temptations of the land ; consecrated apostles of high and widespread culture in the realm of intellect and spirit ; and humanitarians who minister without seeking to be ministered unto, —all, with uncovered heads, and in tender and grateful accents, will speak reverently of their co-worker, in many high regards, their leader, —
ALONZO AMES MINER.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

I.

THE UNIVERSALISM OF THE CHURCH FATHERS.

[What follows is in extension and explanation of statements made in the text.]

THE late Dr. Edward Beecher, in his "History of Opinions on the Scriptural Doctrine of Retribution," on page 78 says:

"By the doctrine of universal restoration, in its broadest and most generic sense, we mean the doctrine that all sinful beings will be finally restored to holiness and eternal life, and that thus the harmony and unity of the universe will be restored. It was in this broad sense that Origen held it, when he taught the future restoration, not only of all men, but also of all fallen spirits, not even excepting the devil himself."

On pages 119, 120, Dr. Beecher confronts the allegations of a noted historian. He says:—

"W. E. H. Lecky is a scholar of extensive reading and original research. His 'History of European Morals, from Augustus to Charlemagne,' is a work of great value, and his account of the philosophic systems of the Roman Empire indicates a careful study of the original sources of evidence. But when, in his 'History of Rationalism' (Vol. I., page 316), he speaks of the fathers, he obviously has not studied the original sources, and refers to second-hand authorities of no weight at this day in the historical world. Thus only can we explain the fact that such a man has committed himself to the statement that follows: 'Origen, and his disciple Gregory of Nyssa,

in a somewhat hesitating manner, diverged from the prevailing opinion (eternal torments), and strongly inclined to a figurative interpretation, and to the belief in the ultimate salvation of all. But they were *alone* in their opinion. With these *two* exceptions, all the fathers proclaimed the eternity of torments, and all defined these torments as the action of a literal fire on a sensitive body.' The general accuracy of Mr. Lecky, in his historical statements, need not be called in question. But nothing can be more erroneous than this statement. It would require more time than we can here spare to mention, and characterize all those *among the fathers who did not hold to the doctrine of eternal torments at all*, in addition to the two mentioned by Mr. Lecky."

Dr. Beecher then proceeds to analyze certain averments of Dr. Shedd, who, however, was gracious enough to concede that *as something exceptional* Universalism was taught in the Alexandrian School. We quote from pages 120-122:—

"We will next consider the statement of a defender of the current orthodoxy. This we will take from a work of decided ability and merit, a 'History of Christian Doctrine,' by Professor Shedd of the Union Theological Seminary. In Vol. II., page 414, he says, 'The punishment inflicted upon the lost was regarded by the fathers of the ancient Church, with very few exceptions, as endless.' He then makes quotations to that effect from four fathers of the Western Church, to whom he adds Justin Martyr and Chrysostom. He then says, 'The *only* exception to the belief in the eternity of future punishment in the ancient Church appears in the Alexandrian school.' He then shows how this denial grew out of their anthropology, and adds, in conclusion: 'The views of Origen concerning future retribution were almost wholly confined to his school. Faint traces of a belief in the remission of punishments in the future world are visible in the writings of Didymus of Alexandria, and in Gregory of Nyssa. The annihilation of the wicked was taught by Arnobius. *With these exceptions* the ancient Church held that the everlasting destiny of the human soul is decided in this earthly state.'

"The argument of this passage is plain. It is this: If this is a true statement of facts, then the case of the current ortho-

doxy is very strong, and little more need be done. The Church has settled the question. But we ask, Is it true?

"This statement somewhat transcends the limits set by Lecky to the doctrine of restoration. It is not confined to two individuals, but it is confined to one school, — the school of Alexandria. What, then, shall be said of Diodore of Tarsus not of the school of Alexandria, the eminent teacher of Chrysostom, and a decided advocate of universal restoration? What shall be said of his disciple, Theodore of Mopsuestia, that earnest defender of the same doctrine, of whom Dorner says that he was 'the climax and the crown of the school of Antioch?' What shall be said of the great Eastern school of Edessa and Nisibis, in which the Scriptural exposition of Theodore of Mopsuestia was a supreme authority and text-book? Was Theodore of the school of Alexandria? Not at all. He was of the school of Antioch. He was an opposer of Origen in interpretation, and psychology, and anthropology. And yet he not only taught the doctrine of universal restoration on his own basis, but even introduced it into the liturgy of the Nestorian church in Eastern Asia. What, too, shall we say of the two great theological schools in which he had a place of such honor and influence? But of this we shall speak more fully at another time, when we consider the relation of the early theological schools to this question. Dr. Shedd should have called to mind a statement in Guericke's 'Church History,' as translated by himself: 'It is noticeable that the exegetico-grammatical school of Antioch, as well as the allegorizing Alexandrian, adopted and maintained the doctrine of restoration.' "

With great candor Dr. Beecher pays a qualified yet very emphatic tribute of praise to Dr. Ballou's work. This is from page 123:—

"Dr. Ballou also has written a 'History of Ancient Universalism,' in which is presented a very different state of facts from that alleged by Mr. Lecky and Professor Shedd. He claims, and truly, a much wider range, and far greater power for the doctrine of universal salvation than they admit. The work is one of decided ability, and is written with great candor and a careful examination of authorities. In our opinion, it

would benefit Mr. Lecky and Professor Shedd attentively to consider all the facts and authorities presented in it. We think, however, that he, and especially his editors, in a number of cases, draw conclusions that go beyond the authorities to which they refer. The view given of the theology of Theodore of Mopsuestia, and of the difference between him and Origen, is also incomplete, and needs to be more fully wrought out."

II.

THE FUNERAL SERVICE.

THE death of Dr. Miner befell on Friday, the 14th of June, 1895. The funeral service on the Tuesday succeeding was reported with great fulness in the "Christian Leader." With a few omissions, it was as follows:—

The hour of noon on Tuesday was set for the solemn obsequies, — the service beginning at the house on Columbus Avenue. The pastor, Rev. Mr. Roblin, led with an Invocation, and then read appropriate Scripture. Rev. Charles A. Skinner then led in fervent prayer.

The casket was then taken to the hearse to be conveyed to the church, the following serving as pall-bearers:—

Hon. Newton Talbot, from the Society; John D. W. Joy, President of the Trustees of the General Convention; Rev. Dr. W. E. Gibbs, President of the Massachusetts State Convention; Rev. Dr. G. L. Demarest, Secretary of the General Convention; Rev. Dr. E. H. Capen, President of Tufts College; Prof. W. R. Shipman, D.D., Faculty of Tufts College; Hon. Olney Arnold, Trustee of the Publishing House; Rev. Dr. G. H. Emerson, Editor of "The Christian Leader."

Reaching the church, a passage-way through the middle aisle was opened with considerable difficulty, for the immense auditorium was filled in every part, and crowds were gathering upon the sidewalk. Preceded by the pall-bearers the casket was borne to the altar, the vast assembly rising.

Seated on the platform were many of the clergy, numbering about sixty, representing not only the neighborhood, but New Hampshire, Rhode Island, New York, and Pennsylvania.

The venerable Dr. Lucius R. Paige sat at the left of the altar, Dr. Thomas J. Sawyer at the right.

The church quartette then rendered "The Home Land."

Reading of Scriptures by Rev. Dr. E. C. Sweetser followed. Then from the quartette came, "Come to Thea."

ADDRESS—REV. S. H. ROBLIN.

Rev. Mr. Roblin, in charge of the services, then spoke as follows:—

On last Friday afternoon the news spread through the city that Dr. Miner was dead. We who were near to him were hushed and dazed. It seemed as if the sun had found the horizon early, so shadowy appeared the light which fell upon the buildings and the streets. We looked into each other's faces as we met and were silent; a chill was upon us, and our lips were dumb.

The coming of the swift-winged messenger was very sudden. The beloved had grown old with the years, but seemed bright and vigorous even late on Thursday night. The echo of his voice had hardly died away in the chapel at Dean Academy and the African church, where he spoke his last public word. What! Dr. Miner dead? Why, but a few hours before we had seen him riding along the streets apparently in good spirits and health. Our hearts longed to doubt the message which even reason affirmed as true.

But too real was the fact, as this great assembly and these funereal witnesses attest. We are here lovingly to dedicate this hour to his memory, not in any formal way, but simply and reverently. In the early autumn a memorial service will be held, at which time something of an estimate of his character, worth, and work will be attempted. We are now too near the sad day of his decease to do more than offer the simplest testimony, though with the strength of affection.

Yet we worship before no idol of perfection which our minds have created. We come justly discriminating, and

therefore are grateful for the characteristics of greatness which Dr. Miner has ever reflected, and for the heroic service he has rendered a multitude of good causes with almost marvellous vigor and ability. A chieftain he was indeed, wearing the plumes of greatness, intent upon serving faithfully his God and doing good unto his fellow-man.

This parish has suffered an unspeakable loss. For nearly fifty years the translated one had ministered here. He was closely identified with all the older members, and had his secure place in the hearts of those of all ages who entered these courts. It is said that rare old instruments of music gather the harmonies of the years into their keeping, and become their sounding-boards of great richness. For so long has Dr. Miner's voice been heard in this sanctuary that the walls have become pregnant with its tones. The echoes which we observe may well suggest the admonitions, exhortations, denunciations, and solicitations which he has uttered here. So also have these people absorbed the strength of his spirit, and reflect in many ways the habit of his thought and the uprightness of his soul.

The motive power of this great man was conscience. The inner voice whispered, "I ought," and lo! immediately was this injunction translated into the will of action. He was the most invincibly true man I ever met. Integrity was written upon every line of his countenance. He fought like a lion for his convictions, but he knew more thoroughly than most of men how to love tenderly. In the arena he was like the thunderbolt and the lightnings, but in his home and ours he was as open-hearted and kindly as a child.

Brethren of many organizations, you have sustained an incomparable loss. The interests which commanded his support had his strength to the fullest extent to the latest hour. He is gone, and you are to make his place good so far as in you lies. If you were worthy of him as a co-laborer, then will you see to it that these righteous causes do not suffer by this taking away.

Brethren of the church, his mantle rests upon us. In faltering accents, when the death-damp was on his forehead, he gave this message for us: "Give the ministers my love, and

tell them to be faithful." Are we worthy to receive the benedictions of his love? We shall best prove our worthiness by the faithfulness of our lives.

There is a great gap in our ranks, brethren all; we must come closer together and gather inspiration from this exalted soul and press on, consecrating ourselves to the task of carrying the "glorious gospel of the blessed God" to the ends of the earth.

The clouds hang low and the shadows deepen; but as we look upward through our tears we behold the beacon-light of God's goodness, and in the midst of our sorrow we have this consolation:—

"Here is the sorrow, the sighing,
Here are the cloud and the night;
Here is the sickness, the dying;
There are the life and the light.

"Here is the fading, the wasting,
The foe that so watchfully waits;
There are the hills everlasting,
The city with beautiful gates.

"Here are the locks growing hoary,
The glass with the vanishing sands;
There are the crown and the glory,
And the house that is not made with hands.

"Here is the longing, the vision,
The hopes that so quickly remove;
There is the blessed fruition,
The feast, and the fulness of love.

"Here are the heart-strings a-tremble,
And here is the chastening rod,
There are the song and the cymbal,
And there is our Father and God."

ALICE CARY.

Our heartfelt sympathy goes out to her who suffers far more than all. For nearly sixty years she was faithful to him as the sun, as devoted as life. He knew as did none others, how she watched and loved him. And that other member of his household who loved him as a daughter, commands our commiseration and also the extended circle of relatives.

Farewell colleague, friend, teacher, father; remembrance of

thee will remain in all our hearts through the passing years until we shall greet thee and say, All hail! as our feet press the sands of the Eternal Shore. Rest thou from thy labors. Thy works in long procession follow thee. Amen.

ADDRESS.—DR. LEONARD.

Rev. Dr. C. H. Leonard, Dean of the Tufts Divinity School, then gave the following address:—

Here, to-day, as if in answer to the personal wish of the man we mourn, we try to keep to simple words and simple acts, and to that reserve which will not allow us to go beyond the objects and events which lie within the sphere of private grief, and the sense of personal loss which has come to this parish and to those societies which look to this one as to a mother. Indeed, the very word I chance to use, makes us think of the most endeared relations of this pastor, not only to a single flock in a single city, but to countless men and women who knew his face and voice, and to countless others who never saw his face or heard his words. His very name has been moral help to many a perplexed soul and burdened heart, and few names that we are able to repeat have carried more courage to discouraged lives, or more light to those who sit in darkness, or a clearer sense of freedom to lives enslaved.

Perhaps he is best known to thousands of persons in all parts of the country, for his intellectual and moral leadership in certain great causes. And it is to be said, I think, that the very unpopularity of these causes gave emphasis, possibly over-emphasis, to his part in them, and that the very nobility of his advocacy was in such contrast with the moral timidity of many men about him, that it has been easy, natural, to set him apart as the heroic thinker, the righteous pleader against wrong, and the unselfish, courageous advocate of things right, and pure, and good — our foremost citizen, in these respects, after Garrison and Phillips.

What results in civic life, in special reforms, in popular education, are traceable to his effort, others will tell who had part with him in these great activities. We who are here to-day see this greatness only as it looms through the rain of

our grief, and hold ourselves, with the inevitableness of love, to the friend we knew, and to the beloved pastor whose vigilant faithfulness was never dulled by use, nor hindered amid the manifold service in the wider demand made upon hand and brain and heart: so that, in all these years, it has been the delight of his soul, in supremest service, to go in and out before the people he called his own, to bless and cheer them from house to house, and, above all, perhaps, to give loving, cheerful help and guiding hand to the young. I never knew a man who could so penetrate without stooping to the hearts of children, as if every dearest little child of the flock were his own to love and to lead.

I may say, also, that the frequently-quoted saying of Hegel, that a great man condemns the world to the task of explaining him, does not apply in this instance; for Alonzo A. Miner, the man of God, the faithful minister of Jesus Christ, explains the man in all his relations to the world, to life, and to work. The ground and motive of every appeal for good order and good citizenship, for honesty, for purity, for peace, and for brotherhood, were in the character of the man and in his religious philosophy. To him there was one great premise for concrete righteousness in social life, and for every other practical conclusion, viz., the Fatherhood of God. If any philosophy ever quite gets rid of the element of abstraction and gets down to the actual individual, his did. Dr. Miner, above most of his contemporaries, was a teacher of that form of ethics which has its motive in God, and in the sincere wish to please God — a wonderful teaching, borrowed from the Sermon on the Mount, where all right conduct has its reason in the supreme wish that life may be brought into oneness with the Perfect Life and Perfect Will.

It is good to see, therefore, that the vigor, and even the rigor of this man's ethical doctrine, and all the vigor and rigor of his benevolent endeavor were born of faith in the absolute good that never ceases to bear sway, and of an undecidable belief in a divine purpose within men, and in all the ways and works of men. First of all, and above all, he was a Christian believer; and when we place him in the front rank of moral teachers and theologians, original in thought and

the forms of thought, we do so because his teaching in the pulpit and in the college lecture-room, started from the living centre of Christian faith. His methods, therefore, were not (as I think many believed) the harsh methods of analysis and distinction, but that other and truer method which proceeds from unity, — a unity which holds together all aspects of life and questions. Just because he trusted in the reality of God's presence in history, and to the absoluteness of the Divine Love everywhere, he did not and could not compromise between contending truths and statements. One of his strongest and most characteristic sayings was, "I cannot degrade God." And I may add, in the name of the religion he professed, that he could not degrade man, but must needs reach down to his most ignominious sorrow, and give his splendid mind and his matchless moral strength to man's elevation.

And I may say, even at the risk of abruptness, that the root of this good man's joy was in the assurance that the battle of the moral life will be a winning one. *Failure*, perhaps, is among the last words concerning man, but it is not the last. This is what this sturdy Christian optimist said to struggling, suffering men and women. Could there be a better message for the needy world? Did ever man give to it a clearer or more unembarrassed utterance? From the day which sealed his ordination vows, down to his last address to poor men of a despised race, the very evening before he fell asleep, one strain of hope pervaded all he said, — a constant sense of the ultimate community of God and man within the realm of goodness. This wide faith moved in all his action, impelling to sacrifice, directing his beneficence, and shaping all plans. Every deed of his, whether as pastor, educator, reformer, trustee or president of a college, was but the expression, the forth-putting of an instructed Christian soul.

What a life this has been, — kindled into salient usefulness at so many points all along its way, and alert for public good to the very last! "For their sakes I consecrate myself" may to-day be reverently spoken over this noble silence. And what better can we all do than take to heart the final message of this devoted life to his brethren in the ministry, "Give them my love and tell them to be faithful," — which, in the

inclusiveness of his own thought, means an intelligent estimate of life's work, and virtue, dignity, devotion carried into every part of it.

And now one thought I feel has been present with all of you who intimately knew this great man, that all his care and toil have been wisely, strongly, beautifully shared by her who has so long and so faithfully walked by his side. How else could he have done so much but for affectionate caution and loving watchfulness? And it is a part of comfort to-day, not only to this one most deeply bereaved heart, and to her who has been as a child in the home, and to sister beloved, but to us all, that clear and open mind and vision were granted to the last, and that, without crisis or lingering pain, he passed to his rest. All that he loved, all that he hoped for, all that he believed, while more and more laid in the hands, held in the grace, and enshrined in the love of God, are yet bequeathed to us as an immortal trust.

Rev. Dr. C. H. Eaton of New York then addressed the Throne of Grace in fervent prayer.

Another service was then rendered by the quartette. The benediction by Rev. Mr. Roblin followed.

It was a long while ere the aisles were empty, for hundreds came from the outside — unable to find room during the service — to join with others in taking a "last look." The casket was then borne to Forest Hill.

III.

THE MINER MEMORIAL SERVICE.

ON the evening of Sunday, Nov. 10, 1895, a service was held in Columbus Avenue Church, in memory of ALONZO AMES MINER. The following is a full report of the meeting, first published in "The Christian Leader" of November 21:—

THE INVOCATION.

AFTER the Organ Voluntary, Rev. Gideon I. Keirn led in the following Invocation:—

Our Father in Heaven, as we are here assembled in the midst of hallowed associations, and within these walls that have echoed to the voice of him whom we honor, we would ask that Thou wouldst be in our midst. We come in reverence for Thy love and goodness; we come in gratitude for Thy blessings; we thank Thee for the life of our leader, so manifold in greatness and so rich in the treasures of Christian character; we come in submission to Thy will, which has taken his visible presence from us. We invoke Thy blessing upon this service; grant that everything that is done or said may be but the expression of Thy will and truth, and therefore appropriate to the occasion and helpful to us all. We beseech Thee that Thou wilt bless the church he loved; may those who stand on the walls of our Zion be worthy of the benediction and fulfil the message he gave us in his dying hour, when he said, "Give my love to the ministers, and tell them to be faithful." O Lord, help us to be faithful; help us to make our church the embodiment of Thy life and love. Wilt Thou in Thy tenderness be very near to those to whom he ministered so long and faithfully, and to him who stands in his place? These blessings we ask in the name of Him who is the Leader of leaders, Thy Son, our Saviour. AMEN.

Following the Anthem, "Happy and Blest," from Saint Paul, the pastor spoke as follows:—

INTRODUCTORY ADDRESS.

By REV. STEPHEN HERBERT ROBLIN.

DR. MINER died on the 14th day of last June. The great surprise and shock which we experienced that sad afternoon have not yet left us; the seeming unreality of his death is with us still. At each service we hold in this church, every time we pass the doorway of his old home, we almost expect to see the familiar form and hear the kindly greeting we all know so well. Yonder vacant chair smites our hearts. The

fountain of our tears yet overflows, for not one of us has grown reconciled to the absence of our father in Israel. May God forgive us for our selfishness! he is infinitely better off in yonder kindly heavens than ever he was on earth.

As time moves on, we strive to gain something of an estimate of this stalwart man of God; but the subject eludes us. To think of the man and his work is to put ourselves in the mood of personal affection and keen remembrance; and the glamour of these hides the seeing of our minds. Not yet have we come to that estate where any one of us can enter into a calm analysis of his powers, and so present a just estimate of the life and work of this leader of men; so this task is assigned to a brother from afar. *We* are still at the threshold of sorrow and the brink of the grave.

Some things, however, stand out very clear before us as we think of him. Could any one know him for a day without perceiving the dauntless courage which was a part of him? I think Dr. Miner could never have known a fear. He seems to have been constituted without this constituent having any place in his make-up. He was ready to fight the beasts of Ephesus at any time. His breast was bared to the fiery darts of the wicked constantly. His eyes flashed their challenge, and his voice sounded the advance, whenever and wherever the foes of righteousness and mankind appeared. He was never so happy as when he stood in the thick of some great conflict contending for man and God. The aged chieftain is before us as we speak! We see him head and shoulders above others, wielding his scimitar against iniquity. The circles widen wherever he strives. God is with him, and the dauntless warrior of the Cross from first to last faces every foe and does battle for the right. He knows no personal peril; victory for God and humanity is his only thought.

Yet withal he was a man with a very kindly heart beating in his bosom. He contended for principle, not against men. He loved his brethren, and made no narrow limits to enclose them. He found the sign and signet of God on every countenance, no matter how blurred they might be. To him man in need, man repentant, man seeking light, was ever a brother to help and further on toward the good. If we could have those

of all nations, climes, conditions with us to-night whom he ministered to in personal ways, we would not only throng this great building, but the street as well. He was ever listening to tales of woe from Catholic, Protestant, white, black, native, foreigner, taking their cases into his heart, and doing for them according as his affection and wisdom dictated. The name of those who bear the mark of his kindliness is Legion, — a multitude we know not, who mourn with us.

And with what fervor he loved his native land! Anything which imperilled in any way the institutions of his country found the very quick of his heart. Every nerve in his body thrilled its protest. He called into action all the energy he possessed to combat the enemy. Some thought him over-sensitive, too aggressive; but we must all remember the priceless value of that he rose to defend. To him his country was dearer than anything else. He would endure any trial, expose himself to every danger without a thought; but he could tolerate no shadow of peril, not even a suspicion of one, to come nigh the national home in which he dwelt. How ready he was to serve it! From first to last it was dearer to him than his own life. Soon after his death, one of the foremost members of this parish told me he had had a dream. He, another, and myself were enjoying a social hour, when suddenly Dr. Miner seemed to walk into our presence. The tall, erect form was the same, the expressive face and penetrating eye. He stood in silence a moment, then said, raising his right hand as was his wont, "I am Dr. Miner; stand by the flag!" A moment more he stood, then vanished from our sight. We may well suspect, were Dr. Miner with us to-night, he would repeat that sentiment, "Stand by the flag!" And, brethren, we will do it, so help us Almighty God!

He could not look upon the course of life without determining to take a hand in correcting the abuses which hamper and hurt mankind. He was a natural reformer. His ideal among the contemporaries who worked with him was Wendell Phillips. One who knew Phillips could tell the manner of that man who looked upon him as ideal. Dr. Miner once said in my hearing: "When I was a lad, I saw how much harm intemperance was doing; and I promised myself that if

years were spared me, I would not die without doing what I could to lessen that evil." I think there is no one who will say Dr. Miner did not keep this promise. The ardor he displayed in this great cause was repeated again and again. He fought for reform all along the line, nor stopped at trench or battery, but led the assault on the citadels of evil.

The multiplicity of interests which engaged his heart and brain and voice did not cool his passion for the church he served. He loved it devotedly from the first hour he entered into its service up to the last moment, when he commissioned his wife with the dying message for his ministerial brethren, "Give them my love, and tell them to be faithful." Following closely in the footsteps of Father Ballou, his great predecessor, for more than half a century he held aloft the white banner of God's love. On account of the many calls made upon him, this local church did not assume the large proportions it otherwise would with the undivided service of such a man; but never a moment in his years of toil did he lose heart in the cause, or fail to do his part when called by the needs of the passing hours. And when he sat down to make disposition of the property he had accumulated by wise frugality and industry through long years, to the church and its interests, religious and educational, he left the bulk of it to carry on the work he wrought for during all his life. Even though dead, he would have his life speak in the midst of our Zion forever.

His greatest legacy to us, however, is his own high character and love of the truth. What he himself said at the funeral of Father Ballou applies as well to him. "Suffer me, my friends," he said on that occasion, "to remark further, that he was a man of singleness of purpose and of spotless life. To know the truth and proclaim it to all who would hear him, excited, early in life, the ambition of his soul. And the more the glories of the gospel enraptured his heart, as truth became manifest to his understanding, the more eagerly did he devote his powers to the extension of a knowledge of the gospel among men. To make known the Father unto men was the work to which he believed himself called of God; and

most faithfully did he labor to that end, vigorously employing the full powers with which he had been blessed." This is, after all, the unfading legacy which in its very nature must abide. All other things may perish, but a good life in mighty earnest, advocating the truth and building up the kingdom of God among men, — this must continue as a potent power so long as thought, righteousness, and life are in the world.

But I must not linger to express further my thought, much as I would love to do so. There are others here to speak the more formal words the occasion demands. I have looked into the heart of this man as a spiritual son, and studied him with industry during the last four years he lived. He was a great and good man, — human as are we all, but a power for the right. We miss him more and more as we come to realize he is gone forever. The gap opens rather than closes. His works follow him; and those who are true to his teachings and faithful in their love for him will be the most zealous in carrying on the work which claimed the energies of his entire life. As we journey on toward the unknown which awaits us, may we often feel the inspiration of his near presence, and hear the kindly accents of his commendation.

A bereaved traveller was nearing the end of a long day's journey. He had left his loved ones behind him, and in God's acre there were marks of new-made graves. He had come to a strange place, and it was eventide. He stood a moment, and sadly looked upon the beauty of the scene. But he was alone, a stranger. What should he do; where go? Suddenly sweet voices broke upon the silence of the air, and he heard these familiar words, and his loneliness departed; he felt friends were near. They sang, —

"Hark! what mean those holy voices
Sweetly sounding through the skies?
Lo! the angelic host rejoices,
Heavenly alleluias rise.

"Listen to the wondrous story
Which they chant in hymns of joy:
Glory in the highest, glory,
Glory be to God most high!"

We, too, are lonely to-night as we pass along life's way. Our thoughts go back to that midsummer afternoon when we stood in God's acre by a new-made grave, and lowered to one resting-place the bodies of Alonzo Ames Miner and Maria his wife. It was one of the most pathetically beautiful sights I ever witnessed, and will go with me to my dying day. But, hark! what sound is that? Is it the music of that familiar voice, voicing love for God and love for man? Yea, Dr. Miner speaks in heaven. Let us no longer be sad and weary, but with new hope and courage take up the course of our lives, and journey on to the eternal home.

It is history we are making to-night, for we are dealing with the life of a man of God who has left an impress upon the world. I see those before me who knew him for many years, and those also who had known him but days, — yet one and all knew him to love him. The years hasten on, and the pathway of our life shortens every hour. The admonition of this occasion is to live high, noble, godly lives. To be worthy the companionship of such as he; to enter into the inner fellowship of his sympathies and convictions; to follow as faithfully and continually the course of duty; to have singleness of purpose and purity of heart, — such desires and realizations will make us fit successors to this nobleman of the House of God, ALONZO AMES MINER.

The pastor then presented Rev. Dr. Adams, of Brooklyn, N.Y., in the following terms:—

Brethren, it is with much pleasure that I am able to present to you as the next speaker one who knew Dr. Miner well and has loved him long, — Rev. John Coleman Adams, D.D., of Brooklyn, N. Y.

His address follows:

MEMORIAL ADDRESS.

By JOHN COLEMAN ADAMS, D.D.

It is hard to believe in the reality of this occasion. A great meeting in this church; a gathering representative of

the Universalist clergy and laity; an assembly which stands for the citizens of greater Boston, — and Dr. Miner not here! We are not to see that tall figure rise before us, nor hear the rich accents of his flexible voice. Of all that superb personality as it was clothed in the flesh, —

“Nothing now is left
But a majestic memory.”

Yet to those who have so long been used to look on him as the central figure of every great gathering, the overshadowing presence in every meeting for counsel, the leader in every column moving out to action, that memory will long be more vivid than any present reality, and he, being dead, will yet speak with more power than many who still live in the flesh.

We have hardly begun to understand how great a character he was. No man ever is rated at his true value while he is still in this body. The glare of many commonplaces hides his virtues or exaggerates his foibles; and seen through the tears of a fresh sorrow his faults are veiled, and he becomes for the hour a paragon of excellencies. But as the days and the months pass away, prejudice and prepossession alike are weakened, the illusions of love and hate disappear, and the soul of the really great nature, clearing itself of all that was merely accidental, stands revealed more and more, defining itself in its true proportions, — those which are destined to stand and to endure as characteristic of the man. There is a revelation which comes to us when this mortal puts on immortality, without which we scarcely can see our friends as they are. There was deep meaning in the words of Jesus to his friends, “It is expedient for you that I go away.”

So, as the hand of time begins to divest the name of him we are met to honor of its merely earthly belongings and touch it with a glory not destined to fade, it is fitting that we should meet to speak of him to one another, and seek to realize, if we may, how much he will stand for now, to ourselves and to our church and to the world.

We have been so used to look to him to *do* for the causes he loved that we cannot readily bring ourselves to think of what he *was*, in personality and in character. Yet here is

where his service will grow larger and larger to all who were moved by his life. Not in what he did, but in what he was, lay his pre-eminence. Much as we prize the work that he wrought for the Church and for the world, we find ourselves setting an ever-growing value upon the character he gave us. For men are greater than their acts. Personal force is the final expression of an individual's contribution to life. In this respect how vast is our debt to him! His personality pervaded and vitalized whatever he touched, so that his deeds seemed an emanation from himself. In every word he uttered, in every act of the man, we felt the pulse of his soul putting itself thus into expression. He was a man of deep and genuine sincerities. He never kept two sets of beliefs, — one for pulpit or platform use, the other for private life. The man who preached the doctrines of the Divine Love and Fatherhood was the man whose private thought glowed with the radiance of those mighty truths. The voice that rung so clear in denunciation of wrong was attuned, in every accent, to the convictions of a heart which abhorred evil. His calm counsel, or his vehement advocacy of policies or plans of church administration, was the offspring of loyalty to that church and an absorbing desire for its prosperity and usefulness. His sincerity was more than outspoken, — it was ingrained. It was this identity of the thought and the word, of the inward and the outward man, which first of all made Dr. Miner's life so conspicuous.

In him, moreover, we saw the effect of heredity and environment combining, in God's providence, to produce a man. Heaven gave him a nature in which the firm virtues of a New England ancestry reappeared without diminution or loss. The strict integrity, the passion for righteousness, the uncompromising hostility toward evil which have come to be associated with the old New England character, all found a fresh embodiment in him. It was easy to think of him as a type and to see in him what the men of old Plymouth and Concord and Hartford would be, were they walking our streets to-day. The same predominance of the moral sense, the same unquestioning fealty to its requirements, the same noble ardor for the kingdom of heaven among men which marked the Brad-

fords and the Winthrops and the Hookers of old, were the ruling traits in this modern man of God. He was another Cromwell in the rigor with which he held himself and other men to the strictness of the moral law, and insisted on the Divine Statutes, not as dead letters on the codes of society, but as full of vitality to-day, to be heeded, obeyed, enforced. This was the nature of the man. And he gave that nature congenial training, and converted it into that second nature, which is character. He never weakened his sense of duty by ignoring it. He never dimmed the light of conscience by trifling with it. He gave his heart, without reserve, to his church and his fellow-men and his Maker, so that the dispositions to right which were born in him, matured into the voluntary choice of his soul, and strengthened with the practice of the years. He fostered the gifts of God within. It was thus that he developed consistently and naturally into the man conformed to reason, to duty, and to love. And it was this entire genuineness, this harmony of the man and his deeds, this perfect *rapport* between his moral life and his manifold activities, which gave his personality such weight. There can be no lasting influence in this world without sincerity. The man, as teacher, leader, prophet, who carries his fellow-men with him, does it by virtue of the moral gravitation of his inner life, his real self. Perhaps there is the more propriety in the stress put upon this truth, from the fact that Dr. Miner himself never claimed any especial deference to himself, as a man. I do not think that he looked large to himself, or that, if he did feel his own weight, he ever was perturbed by it. There was none of the fussiness of little-greatness about him. He never timed his entrances nor hastened his exits in men's sight, so that they should have him much in their eye. He never used his gifts of speech for oratory's sake. He was never a man to minimize the force and value of the outward details of life. He never neglected the little things which express and perform life's functions, because he himself was great. But small matters grew large and dignified under his touch, and the little episodes of intercourse, as he used them, became vastly significant. His morning salutation had all the broad and gracious effect of

the sunrise. His handshake was like the sealing of a compact of perpetual friendship. In the smallest transactions with him one felt the sway of this large personality. Yet never was the thrust of this force at all like egotism. It was the inevitable and necessary power of a great nature.

In this power of his personality we may find, I suspect, one source of his hold upon the men and women who heard his preaching and went away again and again, a little troubled that they had not been more interested. His words were often above the heads of his hearers. They could not always follow where his mind moved so easily. But, nevertheless, they liked to listen, if only to hear the man. They might not feel the force of what he said; they always felt the force of what he was. The *sermon* might be too abstruse; the *man* never was. Whatever else they might misunderstand, they understood *him*. He was a noble illustration of the rule that the preacher is more of the sermon than anything he says. The orator is the real oration. And so when that clear voice clove the air, and that graceful arm accented speech with gesture, and the eye brightened with the fire of kindled thought, all of us who listened became aware of something far transcending speech and action and all the arts of oratory, — the *man* who was making them the means of reaching other men, the energy of a noble soul pouring out its life upon other souls.

It has seemed to me that there were two or three words which were the keynotes of his character, to which all his thinking and acting were attuned. They explain his spirit, and they account for the consistent, unswerving lines of his conduct through that long and active life. The first of them is *Truth*, which he loved, for which he lived. He was not one of those uneasy souls who are forever exploring, seeking, rummaging in the universe to find new facts and new relations, but whose interest in them ceases when they are found out. There is a difference between truth-seekers and truth-lovers. The truth-seeker is a pioneer, an adventurer, a restless rover over the world of ideas, whose chief interest is in the unknown, and who, when he has brought it within the limits of the known, abandons it to others to care for while

he goes on new quests. The lover of truth is eager not only to find it but also to live with it; to cherish as well as to discover; to develop, to apply, and to practise that which he has found. That was Dr. Miner's attitude toward truth. He was as much interested in it after it had been published as he was in discovering it. He loved to see it working, leavening the loaf, growing like the mustard seed. He was sometimes a long time ahead of the harvest; and men called him all those rasping names which they apply to the quick-eared souls who have heard the great tidings of the universe before it is hawked abroad by the newsboys. But he sometimes was permitted to enjoy the revenges of time. He early perceived the truth in regard to the final holiness of the race; and he lived to see the tacit admission of that truth in the growing sentiment of sects where once it was hated and scorned. He asserted the right of the State to prohibit the sale of intoxicants, against brilliant and powerful legal advocates; and he lived to see Massachusetts concede that right to every town which chooses to exercise it. He used to declare that the laws regulating the liquor traffic could be enforced by any official who would be true to his oath of office; and he lived to see his words proved by that courageous man who has forced the entire liquor interest of New York City to capitulate. Let those who called Dr. Miner a fanatic and a visionary, because he was so confident of the moral order of the universe, stop and think how many of his positions have been justified, proved, demonstrated in the lapse of the years. A mind whose thinking in such signal instances proved so true to the great trend of advancing enlightenment does not deserve to be called narrow.

Nor was his mind a mere logic-mill, grinding premises into conclusions, without any reference to the quality of the grist. He took counsel with his heart in all his thinking, and never let his logic do injustice to his better sentiments. His thought was often upborne on the wings of a high imagination, which took him and them who tried to follow him into those rare atmospheres where the mind divines greater truths than it can grasp and hears things which cannot be uttered. There are memories dear to those who knew him in the class-room,

of moments when he seemed to be thinking, as it were, under inspiration, when he kindled with his theme, and, gathering power and momentum, as he talked, swung off into daring metaphysics and thrilling vaticinations which made the dull-est heart beat quicker and the most sluggish imagination stir with faint suggestions of great ideas. An hour with him in lecture or recitation was like a run in the stimulating air, — a mental refreshment, an intellectual tonic. But these episodes of his more brilliant thinking were like the ascent of some mountain height, when, after the hard climb, came quickened energy along with visions of a transfigured world. I suspect that few people realize how really great he was as a teacher. He had the three qualities which give power and distinction in this noble sphere. He had grasp, and enthusiasm, and inspiration. He held his theme with a strong grip, he made it glow with his own vitalizing thought, and he kindled the fire of thought in other minds. The memory of his teaching is one of the most precious legacies to those who shared it.

How many times, too, it was the delight of undergraduate days to watch him as he followed his thought through those intricate sentences in which he sometimes involved himself. We used half to expect that he would trip and waver and go hopelessly astray, as ordinary men surely would have done. But he never failed to lead his subject straight to its predicate and keep his pronouns on the best of terms with their antecedents. And by and by we learned to know that he who had such command of long and complex forms of speech was just as great in other modes. In the heat of invective against evil, in the passion of the advocacy of great reforms, his words rung like the axe in the forest. He could be as terse as Tacitus and as Saxon as the Bible.

The fruits of the thinking which he so carefully matured and so stirringly presented, he himself embraced with deep and immovable faith. He was a man of profound convictions. The truths he held he held with all his soul. He was cautious, and he was careful in forming opinions. He had many tests of truth, and many lights in which to search it out. He knew the real world, and he knew the men that are in it. If he seemed an idealist among men of the world.

nevertheless he was a man of the world among idealists. He had more faith than most of us in the things which can be accomplished in the regeneration of society. But that was not because he was a visionary or a dreamer. It was not because he had less knowledge of the weakness of human nature, or the low ideals of the average man, or the vast inertia that resides in human interest, selfishness, and passion. It was because he had a larger faith in the divine factors which overcome human obstinacy and repair human error. He knew men, the world, the tenacity of evil. But he had seen the tokens of a Divine Presence, he had recognized a Father's firm hand, he had bowed before an Infinite Power whose movement toward righteousness and blessedness he loved to declare and to describe. These were the sources of his faith in the triumph of good over evil. These were the roots of all his convictions and of his working creed. He had a fighting faith in Almighty God and His infinite resources. It was this faith which made his heart so strong and his sword-thrusts so trenchant.

There is yet another word which helps to outline Dr. Miner's character and describe its salient traits. It is the word *Duty*. To him conscience was authoritative, supreme, and final. Every truth had its moral bearing, and had to do with conduct. Faith involved works, and pointed invariably to deeds. It would be almost impossible for those of us who knew him even to imagine him in the act of shirking a duty, or of evading a responsibility. When his conscience uttered the solemn word "ought," that ended the matter. He turned at once to do according to his abilities the thing he was called to do. If he had his hesitations or his rebellions, if he ever tried to avoid the thing which conscience ordained, if he ever sought to escape it by running away, he certainly kept the fact concealed, and no man outside his closest friends was aware of it; for prompt to the hour and the moment, he appeared at the rendezvous of duty. He and his task were never seeking each other. He always found the thing he ought to do, and what he ought to do always found him.

It has been common to think and to speak of him as a man run in the mould of a military character, — a type of the

soldier. There was indeed much about him to justify the comparison. He had the soldier's courage and his ardor in combat, and the insight which clears as the smoke of battle thickens. He had the heroic qualities which in a more martial age would have laughed at wounds, and courted the perils of the charge, and always kept his face to the foe. Even his form had all the attributes of the warrior, and to see that graceful figure in the saddle was to be irresistibly reminded of Von Moltke, of Wellington, or of Washington himself. But chief of all the traits which suggested the soldier, deeper than the martial bearing and the heroic mould and the brave heart and the zeal for the combat, was his loyalty to duty. That, after all, is the underlying granite of the warrior's nature; and that was the basis of his character. It was revealed in the loyalty with which he followed his convictions, and enlisted in the service of a despised and suspected church, and fought her battles, and shared her fortunes, and fared with her "for better or for worse." It appeared in the courage and ardor with which he espoused the cause of temperance, incurring all the sneers and the resistances and the enmities which that long warfare brought upon him. It echoed in those last faint words, whose failing whisper was like the exhortation of the dying King Arthur, "Tell the brethren to be faithful." No man ever had a better right to send that dying challenge of conscience to conscience! It was "the ruling passion, strong in death." For fidelity was in his very blood. It was his meat and drink to do the will of his Lord. He had lived by that watchword himself. He might well lay the charge upon the hearts of others.

For it was this fidelity which so often drove him from the side of the men he loved and honored, whose companionship and sympathy would have been as dear to him as to any man. He could sooner break with those whom he would fain have had as comrades and friends than he could break with duty. That was the whole matter in a word. That was what led him to head forlorn hopes against the citadels of evil. That was what sent him ahead of his generation in theories of social order and efforts for human weal. That was what won him the hate of the vicious, the wrath of the narrow-minded, the dull

resistance of the bigots of ignorance and loose morality. That, too, was what made him seem to the young men whose loyalty he had won, a bright and shining incarnation of the soldier's fidelity and the apostle's zeal, as he strode without blenching or recoil into the fierce fire of battle, and struck for righteousness and the Lord. And if any had asked him why he went, and why he incurred all this hardship, pain, and wounds, his answer must have been that old stanza of Tickell's, —

"I hear a voice you cannot hear,
Which says I must not stay;
I see a hand you cannot see,
Which beckons me away."

Let us not misunderstand this heroic soul. His uncompromising warfare upon evil and upon evils was not the asperity of a quarrelsome nature, or the love of contention, or a propensity for antagonism. He did not fight for the sake of fighting, but for the sake of the truth. He had made oath to God that he would serve the truth and the right wherever they needed a word or a life to help or save them. It was his fealty to the everlasting Reality, manifested either to mind or to moral sense, which kept him in the ranks of brave minorities. It was not a petty nature, but a great one, which could undertake all he endured for the kingdom of heaven's sake. No man better deserved the splendid praise of Lowell's lines:—

"Life may be given in many ways,
And loyalty to truth be sealed
As bravely in the closet as the field,
So bountiful is fate;
But then to stand beside her
When craven churls deride her,
To front a lie in arms, and not to yield,
This shows, methinks, God's plan
And measure of a stalwart man,
Limbed like the old heroic breeds,
Who stands self-poised on manhood's solid earth,
Not forced to frame excuses for his birth,
Fed from within, with all the strength he needs."

If we seek still another word which shall suggest a ruling trait of his nature, we may well fix upon that noble term which

describes the corner-stone of all his theology as it was the fundamental thing in his own spirit. He was an apostle of the Gospel of the universal love; and he entered upon that apostolate because that gospel found such a perfect response in his own spirit. It was the unselfish love in his own great heart which interpreted for him the fulness of the Divine Love. So he became a loving messenger of the gospel of love.

It is unfortunate that this word and all its congeners have been suffered to fall into the hands of sentimentalists and rhapsodists, to denote little more than a soft amiability, a frothy emotion, an impulse of shallow sympathy, of fickle enthusiasm, of nerveless good-nature. For in this narrowed conception not only is love itself belittled and dishonored, but the natures in which it displays some of its most glorious aspects are not counted at all as examples of its power. Dr. Miner was no sentimentalist. He was not blown hither and yon by the shiftgusts of impulsive ardors. He had a strong man's aversion for all that seemed like "gush." And nothing maudlin ever found lodgment in his thought or expression from his lips. Yet tried by any of the larger tests he was a man of loving heart, richly dowered with "the greatest of these," the supreme trait in the Pauline trinity of virtues. Love toward God and love toward man were corner-stone and cap-stone of his theology. They were the very heart of his preaching and his teaching. They were the centre and core of his own personal religious life. What he wrought and what he taught were fruits from this prolific root planted in his soul. Once when a student at the end of his college days came to him and tried to speak his gratitude for the teaching and for the example this college president had afforded, his keen eye softened, his hand was extended with that dignified cordiality we all knew so well, and he responded: "I thank you! I thank you! I do not know that I deserve what you have told me. But one thing I can truly say. I long ago ceased to live and to work for myself. I am glad if I seem to have accomplished anything for others." That was the heart of the man. He was unselfish. He worked from the higher motives. He lived the doctrine he professed.

The breadth of his sympathies bears witness to the same

great fact. He was a many-sided man, and touched human life at more points than most men ever can hope to. His versatility was the wonder of all of us. But it was not a mere facility of his mind, a restlessness of the wits which craved employment and hated monotony. He might have had a variety of talents and still never have used them. That he trod so many paths of usefulness; that he became a leader in so many good causes; that he lent a hand to so many struggling enterprises of righteousness, was because he had a heart so catholic in its sympathies. His hand and his voice followed the promptings of his great, sympathetic soul. His appearance in so many rôles, now as preacher, and again as teacher, here as administrator and there as orator, a leader of reforms and a defender of the things that cannot be shaken, the critic of arrogant evils, the philanthropist befriending weakness and misfortune, — was the sign of his interest in men and what pertained to them and to their welfare, and his sense of obligation to turn all the powers God had bestowed to the highest utility for humanity's sake. If he had been selfish, if he had sought his own glory and advancement, if he had been scheming for the praise of men, he would have refused the calls to lend his strength to so many causes and kept to the narrower works, in which he saw the largest revenues of selfish honor. That he spent himself so freely, in so many ways, using all his versatile faculties with equal unselfishness, is a perpetual witness to his humane interests, his large love of his fellow-men.

But there is a cloud of witnesses of another sort telling the same story in his praise. He was not a man to be generous in theory and stingy in practice. He had more than an abstract interest in man; he was the friend and helper of men in particular. Who was ever more accessible than he to the plea of need, the cry of distress, the appeal of the wronged or the penitent? How many times have we seen him espouse the cause of men with a grievance, or excuse and extenuate the wrongdoer seeking reinstatement, or plead for charity and mercy! How many times has that liberal purse relieved financial distress and helped out private shortage! How many students could tell of his quiet but substantial aid, which opened the

way to education or to professional life! In him we saw again that old-time priority of good works so famed since Chaucer's day, —

"This noble ensample to his sheep he gave,
That first he wrought and afterward he taught."

It is a splendid monument of him which stands on College Hill, the beautiful hall he reared for the training of young men in the ministry. Noble in its architecture, admirable in its appointments, refined in all its belongings, it is a memorial such as any man might covet, as a witness of his love of the highest things, and his desire to spread them among men. But the finest thing about that building is not the one public beneficence it stands for, but the thousand unrecorded charities of which that was only the culmination and the crown! Into those walls are built the unselfish impulses of a lifetime. It is the embodiment of his helpfulness and humanity.

This meeting is not to pronounce any final word about him; it but begins the strain of eulogy and honor which will last long after our voices are as still as his own. His name will gain upon the hearts of men with every year that passes. For Alonzo Ames Miner was a greater man than his contemporaries realize. He was not merely the great man of a small church. He was one of the great men of a great city, of a great commonwealth, of a great nation. He was the peer of Phillips and of Sumner, of Horace Mann and Phillips Brooks, of Hosea Ballou and Lyman Beecher. He was great in intellect and great in heart; great in affairs and great in faith. He was an orator who could bear comparison with Phillips. He was a teacher in the rank with Mark Hopkins. Men schooled in the law declared that he would have been an ornament to the bar. Great merchants counted him their peer in business acumen. That he took all these great gifts and consecrated them to the office of the Christian minister shows how he held that office in honor and how strong was his spirit of devotion. Nor did the standards of the ministry suffer at his hands. He brought to it a character against whose honor and whose purity no breath of suspicion ever came. He pursued it with a faithfulness and unselfish love which never flagged till death's hand was laid upon his frame. And there

are thousands to-day for whom he will be the one pastor of a lifetime. He had a Christian's unfailing courtesy, a dignity which bent to any level, yet without condescension, a kindness of heart toward all classes and conditions of men. He was indeed a man to be dreaded as an antagonist in the battles of ideas and principles. But if he struck hard it was not at men, but at the uniforms they wore and the banners they carried. He was stern and uncompromising only against evil things and principles and those who represented them. He was cautious in the conservation of the good; in the attack on wrong he knew neither fear nor reserve. Because he threw himself with all his soul into the causes he loved, weak men, who never knew the enthusiasm of a hearty devotion to anything, called him Puritan and bigot. But the loyalty which never swerved, the zeal which never cooled, the love which never waned, will justify themselves at last, and men will yet praise him for this unfaltering righteousness and this immovable faith. The church he served will love him equally for the devotion he gave and the honor he brought her. The city in which he wrought his life work will count him among her grandest sons. Boston has had many great ministers: Cotton and Mather; Beecher and Taylor; Eastburn and Brooks; Channing, Ware, and Freeman Clarke; Ballou and Parker; — these are names which shine "as the stars forever and ever." Now the sorrowing city adds another, whose light is no less pure and bright and enduring, — ALONZO AMES MINER.

A FRATERNAL WORD.

By EDWARD EVERETT HALE, D.D.

AFTER singing two stanzas from "Church Harmonies" — the quartette leading the congregation — Mr. Roblin presented the next speaker in the following words: —

The next speaker came to Boston eight years after Dr. Miner, and is now the senior minister in Boston with the exception of one. It is not necessary to introduce him to any audience in this city, or, for that matter, to any audience in

America. His name is above the adornment of title, — I simply name as the next speaker, Edward Everett Hale.

Dr. Hale spoke as follows, his address being stenographically reported specially for "The Christian Leader":—

It is, as Mr. Roblin has said, nearly fifty years since Dr. Miner, who had early won recognition in another field of work, came to Boston, where he was the youngest minister. Now, for many years he has been our senior, our revered leader, I may say, in many things.

I am very glad that the opportunity is given me, through your kindness, of saying something of the tenderness, the gentleness, the constant courtesy with which he bore himself in his relations, and in his sympathy not only to us in his own profession, but to the people of Boston. And that is what I am going to speak of, — his relation to the people of Boston. He was one of their bishops, — the youngest when he began, the oldest when he was done; one whom God Almighty had sent very early into the ministry in this city. And I want to say something of the way in which he discharged that magnificent office. It was by one of the happy felicities by which such things are ordered, — I don't like to have people call them incidents or coincidents, — it was by one of the happy felicities of providence that, two years since, when that magnificent assembly, in the Old South Meeting House, of the clergy of this city and neighborhood met to commemorate and to honor Phillips Brooks the week after his death, the presiding officer should be Dr. Miner; that he should be the confessed representative of that great church in whose very name is the suggestion of a real catholicity, and which has in its very history and constitution the essential elements of Christian unity. Was it not a good thing that a man who represented a church whose wings are wide enough to extend over every church of God, and whose doctrine proclaims its eagerness and willingness to fold every man and woman born into the arms of God, — was it not a felicity that he should preside on that august occasion? And the dignity, the tenderness, the elegance of manner with which he welcomed each boy or man who came forward to speak upon that platform will not be forgotten by the hundreds of the clergy assembled there.

Now, that felicity of position which he had won by living forty or fifty years nearly in this community characterized the position in which, not only on occasions of ceremony, occasions of dignity, but on every occasion when men had to meet him, he was eager, glad to welcome those of us who were his fellow-workers.

What do I mean when I speak of fellow-workers in the gospel ministry in a city like this?

I do not want to force relations upon a congregation like this, but since I have been told that I was to have the privilege to speak here, I have thought that without impropriety, for a minute or two, I might speak of his relations outside of his own particular parish to the people of the flock over which God had set him to be an overseer. Does anybody like to think that for the two years Paul was preaching in Corinth he was occupying himself with the morals, the education, the prosperity of thirty or forty Christian families who happened to gather in the house of Sosthenes? Does not everybody feel that Paul went into Corinth to bring the city of Corinth unto the kingdom of God, and to bring the whole of it unto the kingdom of God? And if to-day there is anybody who thinks that because Mr. Roblin, for instance, is here the minister of the Second Universalist Church, it is his business to keep a list of the members of the Second Universalist Church, and take care of them and their children, and to turn his back on everybody else in Boston because they do not belong to the Second Universalist Church, — if there is anybody who has got that notion of a Christian minister, he is a person to whom an example like Dr. Miner's is constantly speaking, and teaching a lesson, let me say, which it is very much desired should be learned. I do not want to speak cynically or unkindly of enthusiasts. I have known such enthusiasts, who were enthusiastic in the ministry, each man in taking care of his own parish, who were resolved to know nothing of any but the hundred families under their particular charge. That is one man's idea of doing his work. But I do say that the whole Puritan conception of the ministry means that when a man is ordained to the ministry of a parish in a town, he is not to make that parish his sole field, but he is to open the eyes that

are blind, the ears that are deaf; he is to compel everybody — men, women, and children — to feel and to know the gospel of the loving God.

That is the view Dr. Miner took of his position in Boston. He was proud of the position, the dignity given him in this church; but he never pledged himself to confine himself to these walls, he never pledged himself to confine himself to the sermon of this pulpit; he was the minister of Christ to this city of Boston, as he proved also to be the minister of Christ to a great many other cities. There is an example that I might wish that young men, wherever placed, might follow. The young minister located in a country town, let him remember that he is to go north and south, east and west from that town, — he is to find the people in the settlement they call "Hardscrabble;" he is to find them out and preach to them the gospel of a loving God.

Now, when you come to a city like this, that carries you a great ways. I suppose, roughly speaking, that of the five hundred thousand who are in the census of Boston, two hundred and fifty thousand persons — one half — are connected in some way with the two or three hundred churches which are in Boston. I suppose some two hundred and fifty thousand are not in the Church. I do not mean to say that they are irreligious people, — you may call them the "unchurched," but I do not like that name, for I do not think the Church ever lost sight of them. The Church has its wings out to fold these in, and it is such men as Dr. Miner who have a regard for such people in a city like Boston.

Both of the gentlemen who have spoken have spoken of his dauntless courage, — a courage that carried him far; but it carried many a pang to the heart, and probably Dr. Miner disappointed his friends and pained them very often. I dare say he pained his friends as often as he pained his enemies. People would say, "Why could he not devote himself to that which he did so well? If he was at work in the college, why did n't he remain in the college and let other things alone?" Because he could not; as Dr. Adams said, the voice of duty called him, and he obeyed the call. This courage of his, I think, was the first point everybody observed who had not

known him. I do not know whether the word "courage" is the proper word to designate what I am going to speak of, but the readiness with which he appeared, ready for action, is very closely related to courage. You will often find that there are people whose hearts are wholly engaged, who are earnest for the right, but who from constitutional habit, who from temperament, show an inability to work with other men, who do not appear when the roll is called. It would be easy to name men of great reputation for the songs they have sung, of great reputation for the lessons they have taught, of great reputation for the books that they have left behind them, who never appeared on the field of battle. On that night when an effort was made to stone the Boston Court House and to take out the prisoner, — the poor black man who had been shut up there because the government did not dare to carry him across the town to the jail, — a distinguished friend of ours who had volunteered to lead the attack found himself up a dozen steps of the stairway, and looking round for the followers who had been cheering at Faneuil Hall — shall I say who had been making speeches at Faneuil Hall? — none of them were there. Their constitutional habits were not his, their method of doing was not his method. He found himself alone. That is an incident that defines the difference between the sorts of men who appear in great popular reforms. The meeting is called, and the men who call it are not present on the platform. But Dr. Miner was present on the platform if he had anything to do with it. If he put his hand to the plow, he kept his hand upon the plow until the plow was driven through. He awakened the animosity of his enemies. He grieved, I do not doubt, many, many of his friends, but when the clock struck he was at the place, and in the long run that commands respect.

I might attempt to wonder whether anybody, except the two who have spoken to-night and a few of the leaders of this congregation, knows how wide-sweeping was his generosity and his readiness to lend a helping hand, for I see that the newspapers speak of him as if he was simply pledged in a great temperance enterprise. Anybody who has had anything to do with popular education or public education knows how much

of his time Dr. Miner gave to that. A member of the School Board I do not know how many years, and connected with the College of Fine Arts for a great many years, — there is an illustration of the readiness he had to engage in any popular cause. The interest that is taken in the election of proper persons to the School Committee is comparatively recent. I can remember the time, fifteen years ago, when it was as hard to get anybody to a caucus on this subject as it is to get them to many unpopular things, — they would make some excuse, that they were married and could not go, — but there you would find Dr. Miner.

I am not here to attempt to repeat the various enterprises in which this man engaged himself. I came here, and I am proud and honored that I am permitted to be here, to speak of the cordiality he could express to, and with which he could work with, men in the community. He was not one of those speculative theorists who had to sit back in a closet because the hands were rough from hard work, or the language was ungrammatical, or the dress of the people with whom he was to meet in the cause of duty was unfashionable. He was democratic through and through, in the true sense of that word. He believed in the people, and he threw himself upon the people in the discharge of any duty. I have no wonder that the people recognized the courage of such a leader and were ready to follow where he went before.

The pastor presented the speaker who came next on the programme in the following terms:—

The next speaker was a co-worker with Dr. Miner for nearly seven years, having this connection with him more than twenty years since. We welcome Rev. Henry I. Cushman, D.D., of Providence, R. I.

MIDWAY IN HIS BOSTON PASTORATE; A GLIMPSE
THROUGH AN ASSOCIATE.

By HENRY IRVING CUSHMAN, D.D.

It was my privilege to be associated with the Rev. Dr. Miner in the pastorate of this church from June 1, 1868, to January 1, 1875, about six and a half years. He had been pastor twenty years when I came, and after I left he remained pastor twenty years more. It was then literally midway in his Boston pastorate when I knew most of Dr. Miner.

You have listened to the sympathetic and noble eulogy by Dr. Adams, which needs no touches of mine to make it complete. You expect from me no analysis of Dr. Miner's character. The simple service which I seek to render at this time is to let you look for a moment, if I may, upon two or three pictures which hang upon the walls of my memory of that period, of Dr. Miner in his pastoral office.

Those of you who have known Dr. Miner as pastor do not need to be told how he reached down without stooping to the minutest details of the pastor's work. He performed each humble duty from the heart, wholly without cant, never in a perfunctory manner, always as if each duty were being performed by him for the first time. No grief of any humblest soul ever seemed to him common, no joy unimportant, no problem unworthy of his most careful thought, no plan or detail affecting the welfare of others, seemed too small to receive from him due consideration before being adopted or dismissed.

As associate pastors it was natural that we should often stand side by side at funeral services of members of this parish. The world has sometimes thought of Dr. Miner as stern and cold and unsympathetic. I shall not forget the impression which was made upon me as I sat in the pulpit of the Old School Street Church with Dr. Miner at the funeral of Thomas A. Goddard. You have seen the mighty oak, firmly rooted on the mountain side, suddenly seized by the passing tempest and shaken in every limb and fibre. Not unlike that

vanquished oak was Dr. Miner as he rose to speak the word of Christian assurance on that occasion. Swept by that storm of grief, his limbs, his lips, his whole massive frame quivered under the stroke, and his voice was tremulous with surging feeling! Have I been able since that July day to think that Dr. Miner's nature was wanting in great depths of sympathy?

Let me unveil another picture. Go with me to the mid-week meeting for conference and prayer! Dr. Miner always found time for that simple service, though his public activities were at their height in those days. It usually devolved upon the junior pastor to open those meetings and to introduce the topics. It was a feature of my mental make-up then that I saw truths too much in the abstract. Now what did Dr. Miner do habitually at these meetings? The world has sometimes thought of him as especially self-assertive in his thought, as chiefly concerned, perhaps, to put in the foreground his individual opinions and views. But what did he do at these meetings? He would take the abstract statement of the junior pastor and translate it into the concrete, — he would take the half-statement or the over-statement and fill it out or lop off its superfluous parts, and point out the wide application of the truth to life. And he would perform this graceful service not in the spirit of controversy, but always in the spirit of Him who would not break the bruised reed nor quench the smoking flax. I have never ceased to be thankful to Dr. Miner for the service which he rendered me, no less than all the people, by such manifestations of Christian considerateness.

I have in mind another picture of Dr. Miner. We were riding together in a street car on some pastoral errand. I suppose I may have manifested something of the discouragement which the young and enthusiastic are apt to feel when they become conscious that the progress of righteousness is so slow and that the results of ardent toil for humanity are so tardy. The world has thought of Dr. Miner as one of the most aggressive of men. He was certainly a man of untiring activity in all great movements for the bettering of human life. And yet what in substance did he say to me that day? He urged with great emphasis that sometimes, as Milton puts it, —

"They also serve who only stand and wait."

He insisted upon the value of a single right life, simply and humbly lived, as an element in the amelioration of the race. The man of intense action who could see also the worth of simply standing in one's place, could not be charged with narrowness of vision. And, encouraged by his broad view, I have been better able ever since to labor and to wait.

But I may not go on. These and other features of Dr. Miner's life, to which allusion might be made, sum themselves up in one word, — Dr. Miner was a prophet of the new dispensation. St. Paul says, "He that prophesieth speaketh unto men edification and comfort and consolation." The prophet is the seer, — the one who sees into the spiritual laws of life and is their interpreter and forthteller. The immanence of God was a fact which did not desert Dr. Miner; and so we do not hesitate to name him in the glorious company of the church's prophets. St. Paul in the early church was a prophet. Chrysostom in the fourth century was a prophet. St. Bernard in the twelfth century, Savonarola in the fifteenth century, Martin Luther in the sixteenth century, Jeremy Taylor, Richard Baxter, and John Bunyan in the seventeenth century, John Wesley, George Whitefield, and Jonathan Edwards in the eighteenth century, Frederick Robertson and Frederick Maurice of the last generation, Spurgeon, Beecher, and Chapin, and, the greatest of all, Bishop Brooks of the present generation, — these all have fulfilled the ministry of prophets, each to his own time! And a similar ministry has been performed by our prophet! Only, if Phillips Brooks was the Isaiah among modern prophets, Alonzo Miner was the Jeremiah! For certainly no man has ever more thoroughly learned by heart the lesson which Jeremiah learned in the potter's house, in the parable of the potter and his clay, that God, the great Artificer, is forever at work on the unyielding clay of the nations, and will not be satisfied until the marred and broken forms of all human lives are fashioned according to His pattern in Jesus Christ his Son.

Last on the programme came Dr. Miner's successor on College Hill, introducing whom the pastor said:—

The last speaker of this occasion is Dr. Miner's successor

in guiding the fortunes of the great college on yonder hill. His service there has extended to nigh a quarter of a century. It is well that he should be here to utter his word of appreciation. I have the honor to present Rev. E. H. Capen, D.D., President of Tufts College.

DR. MINER AS A FACTOR IN EDUCATION.

By PRESIDENT E. H. CAPEN, D.D.

WE are here to-night to indulge in affectionate and grateful reminiscence of a man who had more sides to his character and exerted a wider and more varied influence than almost any man who has lived in Boston during the latter half of the nineteenth century. To say that a man is great in a particular line to which he has devoted the larger part of his time, and on which he has laid the emphasis of his life, and that he has maintained his pre-eminence in that line throughout, is praise enough. We do not expect a preacher to be a financier, any more than we look for high literary gifts and attainments in one who may be a very potent factor in the financial circles of a great city. But Dr. Miner was great not merely in a single department of effort. He was a great preacher, holding a foremost place in the Boston pulpit for more than forty years; and he was very nearly an ideal pastor. But he was also an orator almost without a peer among the great public speakers of his time. He was a statesman who, without holding public office, has done as much to shape the legislation of the Commonwealth in things relating to its moral and social welfare as any senator or representative who has sat under the gilded dome during the whole period of his activity. He was a philanthropist whose ear caught from afar the cry of the oppressed and down-trodden, and to whom the appeal of the poor and lowly was never made in vain. He was a reformer as earnest and relentless in his denunciation of wrong as Elijah or John the Baptist; and he was a business man of prudence and sagacity.

But this does not exhaust the catalogue of things in which he was truly great. After his work as a Christian minister,

his work in the field of education was the greatest and most enduring.

Having had in early life a successful experience as a teacher, he took hold of this subject with something of the knowledge of an expert, and with that intelligent enthusiasm which only they can feel whose interest has been roused by actual contact with young and ardent minds. Throughout his public career he was intensely devoted to the welfare and progress of the public schools. The stealthy approach of old age marked no abatement of his desire that the schools of the State and Nation should be kept free from contamination or destructive influences, and that they should be the disseminators of a pure and wholesome knowledge and the nurseries of sound and noble culture. During the earlier part of his ministry in Boston he was frequently called upon to address teachers' institutes and other similar bodies on educational themes. He took thus a prominent part in the discussion of the problems that were up for solution at that time, and contributed in a substantial way, by the vigor, ability, and soundness of his views, to the important educational movements which followed closely in the footsteps of Horace Mann. Later he was appointed a member of the State Board of Education, an office which, by repeated reappointments, he held continuously for twenty years. Here, for the most part, almost to the completion of his term of service, he exerted a commanding influence among his associates, having no subordinate or incidental share in the supervision and direction of the normal schools, and in shaping the educational policy of the State. It is not too much to say that the Normal Art School is largely his creation. If the idea did not first originate with him, he took it up with intelligence and zeal, and carried it forward to a practical result. The beneficent work accomplished by that school, and the large place it has come to fill in our educational organization, have fully justified the undertaking. The Normal Art School, therefore, in an important sense, is his monument; and if he had done no other notable public work, this alone would have entitled him to the gratitude of his fellow-citizens. I might enlarge upon these phases of Dr. Miner's educational activity. The theme is an attractive one,

and there is much that might be said with profit concerning it. If the history of public education in Massachusetts within this period is ever written, the people of the State will be surprised to learn how grand are the proportions of Dr. Miner's work for the progress of human enlightenment through the public schools.

In all this, however, he was only walking in a by-path. The one educational interest which towered above every other and drew forth the best that was in him was Tufts College. When this enterprise was first broached, Dr. Miner was a very young man, — too young, indeed, to have been an influential factor in it. Sometimes the very inception of Tufts College is attributed to him. But this is a mistake. Other forces were at work before he had assumed the most conspicuous place of leadership in the Universalist Church. We must not forget that away back in the early forties, and even before, our venerable and beloved Dr. Sawyer was preaching the gospel of education, and urging Universalists, under their own patronage and control, to build and endow schools and colleges. This agitation bore its legitimate fruit. His appeals were responded to by Dr. Ballou, Otis A. Skinner, and other men, both clerical and lay, of influence and power. The movement for the establishment of a college took definite shape at the session of the Universalist General Convention in New York in 1847.

But no sooner was the scheme fairly outlined than it found Dr. Miner ready to accept and champion it. From that hour on he became its most conspicuous, devoted, and efficient friend. Without a dissenting voice I suppose we shall all say that it is largely, and perhaps mainly, due to his efforts, that what must have seemed to many a doubtful undertaking then, has become a great and flourishing institution, full of vigor and vitality, and giving ample evidence of abundant and abiding prosperity and progress. Time would fail me were I to attempt to give even a complete outline of the ways in which Dr. Miner served Tufts College. It is enough to say, perhaps, that the institution entered into his soul and took possession of his whole being. No other interest had precedence of it. No other work called forth so much of his energy. No other object of whatever name or nature stood

higher in his affections; and his unwavering loyalty and ardent devotion to it, and his determination to serve it by every power he possessed, followed him to the grave. His will, like Cæsar's testament, is the witness of a love which death could not quench.

Though I cannot give here and now a full account of his varied and remarkable service to the College, there are two or three particulars which I must not omit to mention.

His service on the material side of the College was great. His advocacy of it inspired confidence in it at once. The effect upon the wealthy members of his own parish was almost electric. Under his inspiring counsels they were led immediately to give the means that were necessary to maintain the infant institution, and their benefactions steadily increased, until at length Silvanus Packard was induced to make the College his heir, bequeathing to it his whole fortune, and Oliver Dean was led not only to give one hundred thousand dollars to the College, but to devote the remainder of his possessions to the founding of a school whose primary object should be the fitting of students for it. Thomas A. Goddard was his faithful lieutenant, paying reverent heed to his wise suggestions, giving of his substance constantly and with a liberal hand. Indeed, no man will ever know the extent of his generosity, which was wholly without ostentation, and out of an affection as pure and unselfish as man ever cherished for a noble cause. Others followed with equal loyalty, though at a somewhat slower pace. Some of us can remember the remarkable, and, at that time, almost unprecedented collection, in the old School Street Church, of sixteen thousand dollars for the College.

Nor was it only his own parishioners whom he filled with confidence in this worthy enterprise. His commanding talents, sound judgment, and rare administrative ability made men who were outside his parish and beyond the limits of the Universalist Church feel that the future of the College was assured, and that it was a fitting object on which to bestow their gifts. When Dr. William J. Walker resolved to devote the whole of his vast accumulations to education, and proposed to divide them among several of the institutions of the State,

the friends of Tufts College were delighted to learn that their institution, which possessed little more than a few barren acres of ground in Medford and Somerville, with buildings that scarcely more than served to emphasize its poverty, was one of them. It turned out, too, to their great gratification, that Dr. Miner was the man in whom Dr. Walker had the highest confidence. Indeed, the presidents of the other Colleges with spontaneous unanimity turned to Dr. Miner as the one best fitted among them all to get on amicably with that peculiar gentleman, whose life, in spite of his professional eminence and his business triumphs, had been filled with turmoil and trouble. Nor did he fail to meet the full measure of his responsibility. With that tactful urbanity which sometimes with him amounted almost to genius, he accommodated himself to all the whims of the dying millionaire. If he were bidden to be in his chamber at two o'clock in the morning, he was there, as clear and fresh and ready for business as if it were high noon. Thus, little by little, because Dr. Miner stood sponsor for it, the College won its way to the thoughtful regard of business men.

Dr. Miner's service to the College in the legislative councils of the State was almost beyond computation. It was his skillful diplomacy and his wide knowledge of and influence with public men that won from a reluctant Legislature a donation of fifty thousand dollars from the proceeds of the sale of the Back Bay lands, thus taking the first step towards putting the institution in a position of independence and on a sound financial basis. The marvellous tide of material benefactions, almost unparalleled in the history of New England colleges, has flowed in through the gateway thus opened.

The original character of the College authorized the conferring of all the degrees usually given by colleges "except medical degrees." Without any distinct purpose of founding a medical school, or any immediate desire to confer these degrees, Dr. Miner felt that this was a discrimination that ought not to exist, and so, almost alone, he went before the Legislature, and in spite of the combined opposition of Harvard College and nearly the entire medical faculty of Massachusetts, secured its removal. Truly "other men have labored,

and we are entered into their labors." Our young medical school, now scarcely three years old, yet with an enrolment of more than one hundred and fifty students, established with the cordial approval of men eminent in the medical profession throughout New England, even of men upon the medical faculty of Harvard University, is the proof of the wisdom and foresight of this wise and prudent friend of the College.

The death of Hosea Ballou, 2d, D.D., in the spring of 1861, left the College without a responsible head. It is no exaggeration to say that the trustees and friends of the institution were in dismay. They did not know where to turn for a suitable successor to the great and wise scholar who had been so successful in launching this new experiment with a people who had up to that time made few achievements in the higher learning. It seemed as if a crisis had been reached, and there were those who felt very dubious concerning the future. The people, however, were not long in doubt. The trustees, after a little fruitless searching in most unpromising fields, turned with one consent to the man who had rendered such conspicuous and efficient aid in other ways, and designated him to assume the headship of the College. This was a new and difficult rôle for one to assume who had not even had the advantage of a college education himself. But Dr. Miner took it up as naturally and gracefully as if he had been predestined from the foundation of the world to be a college president. He did not devote his whole time to the office, nor even go to the College to reside. But it was not long before he was familiar with every detail of its work, and made his strong hand felt in its administration. He became, moreover, before the world the conspicuous and shining exponent of its intellectual aims and spirit. No man could look at him and feel that the College under his control could lead an inferior intellectual life.

Dr. Miner has been called "narrow." But those who say that of him only evince their own ignorance of the real nature of the man. His mind not only displayed the utmost catholicity, but responded instantly to the intellectual demands of the situation and the times. True, his eye did not sweep the entire horizon all at once. In an address which he gave at

the laying of the corner-stone of Ballou Hall, he said: "Let it be inscribed over the doors of this College that no man shall go forth from hence who is not versed in letters and theology." It would seem as if he were only thinking of a theological school. But it was during his presidency that physics was made a separate department, with Professor Dolbear as its head. He also created the department of engineering. These were the initial measures which in their development have given the College such wide and high renown in the realm of both theoretical and applied science. Surely one who could thus overcome all the prepossessions of his earlier manhood in favor of literary and theological training was no narrow man. Indeed, it is clear, beyond question, that he meant that the foundations of the College should be as broad as the whole field of human learning.

Early in the year 1875 circumstances arose which led him finally to resign the office of president. The trustees were unanimous in desiring a different result. They urged him by every consideration at their command to abandon his Boston pulpit, come to the College to reside, and devote his whole time to its administration. After mature deliberation he concluded to decline. But his resignation of the presidency did not signify the slightest abatement of interest in the welfare of the institution. As a member of the board of trustees, as chairman of its executive committee and of other subordinate committees, he labored assiduously for the prosperity in other hands of what he might, almost without impropriety, have regarded as his personal perquisite. This is the more remarkable because sometimes he found himself in direct opposition to the policy of his successor and in direct opposition to the views of all his associates. Yet in matters which I know he must have regarded as of vital moment, I never could detect a single trace of vexation or resentment towards the College that his views were not adopted. Indeed, I have known him to withstand me almost to the point of ferocity in the board, and after the meeting he would take my arm and walk up the street, leaning upon me as if I were his son, and conversing with me in the most amicable and confidential way on the high themes of religion and the church.

I think it may be affirmed that his interest deepened and strengthened in the cause to which he had given the best energies of his young and mature manhood as time wore on. Returning as it were by a natural rebound of affection to his earlier regard for literary and theological culture, he made the splendid donation of Miner Theological Hall to the Divinity School. Then, as if he would not be bound to any restricted channel of educational effort, he sought the aid of the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts that he might apply the funds left in his hands by the will of the late Henry B. Pearson to some of the phases of scientific effort already undertaken by the College. The Bromfield-Pearson School is the result. Finally, by his last will and testament, he gives the whole of the residuary of his estate to the College, the income to be used by the trustees without restriction for those objects which they deem most wise. You will all agree with me that none but a great man could thus give up his official connection with a cherished instrumentality, and still keep, in spite of many disappointments and some crossing of purposes, his affection ardent and warm towards it, and ultimately crown and seal his love by the noblest benefactions.

His former pupils, not a few of whom are here to-night, would not feel that I had performed my duty if I failed to speak of him as a teacher. The splendid tribute of Dr. Adams, however, renders the task nearly superfluous. Dr. Miner belonged to a type of college presidents which is now extinct, — a type which was represented by such men as Francis Wayland, James Walker, Theodore D. Woolsey, and Mark Hopkins. They were men who taught not so much by their learning (though they were not without learning) as by their personality. I heard President Dwight of Yale University say, not long since, that Dr. Woolsey could not go through the college yard without communicating to the students who saw him a distinct intellectual impulse. To no man in the world could this remark be applied more justly than to Dr. Miner. However he appeared, whether on foot or on horseback, his presence was majestic. The man who saw him for the first time turned involuntarily and gazed after him. Even those to whom his goings to and fro upon the

street were familiar often stopped and looked upon him with admiration. To his own pupils, as he ascended the hill of science before them, he seemed a veritable "king of men."

The modern college president is a curious compound. He is expected, to be sure, to know something of pedagogical subjects and to be able to expound them to his own and other bodies of teachers. His time, however, is mainly occupied with petty details of business. Of his own faculty he is little more than the presiding officer, and the entire work of college administration and discipline is done by act of the college parliament. He may do some teaching if he can find time for it, but he is quite as likely to be found in the amphitheatre of the ball-field, stimulating his pupils to athletic achievement, as in the academic hall, rousing their minds with the mighty themes of philosophy and duty. Fortunately Dr. Miner was not cast in this mould, and was not called to do his work under the conditions which this mould imposes. Wherever he was, he was a masterful spirit. Whether seated in the presidential chair among his associate teachers, or face to face with the undergraduates, every one was made to feel that in some just and profound measure his will was law. In the class-room it was not his expositions of the text that most impressed his pupils, but rather the clearness and force with which he grasped ideas and truth. The brilliancy and profundity of his own thought drew forth their intellectual resources, and set them to thinking for themselves on independent lines. For this reason no man who ever felt as a pupil the inspiration of his intellectual life can fail to revere him as a wise teacher and profound thinker.

So his work goes on, through the College to which he has contributed not only more variously, but a greater sum of things than any other single individual thus far in its history; through the departments of study which he created; through the noble intellectual ideals which he embodied, and through the stimulus of his peerless personality. This is his legacy to us. God help us to hand it on not only unimpaired, but with fresh accumulations to the generations that are to come.

The services came to a close near the hour of ten.

IV.

DR. MINER'S WILL.

THE following is an authorized abstract, containing every essential in Dr. Miner's last will and testament.

Dr. Miner first provided that after the decease of his wife the bond for forty thousand dollars which he gave to Tufts College for the erection of Miner Theological Hall shall be paid. He then makes private bequests for about ten thousand dollars. The residue of his estate he gives in trust to Newton Talbot and Maria S. P. Miner, who were also his executor and executrix, all of which, including the income of his whole estate, may be used by his widow for her support, or she may dispose of it by will. If there shall be any remaining estate after her decease, then he gives two thousand dollars to each of the following societies and institutions: Second Society of Universalists in Boston, Universalist Publishing House, Massachusetts Universalist Convention, Dean Academy, Goddard Seminary, Westbrook Seminary, and the Universalist Society in Lempster, N. H.—all in trust, the income only to be used for specific purposes. The remainder of his estate he gives in trust to Tufts College, the income only to be used for the general purposes of the College.

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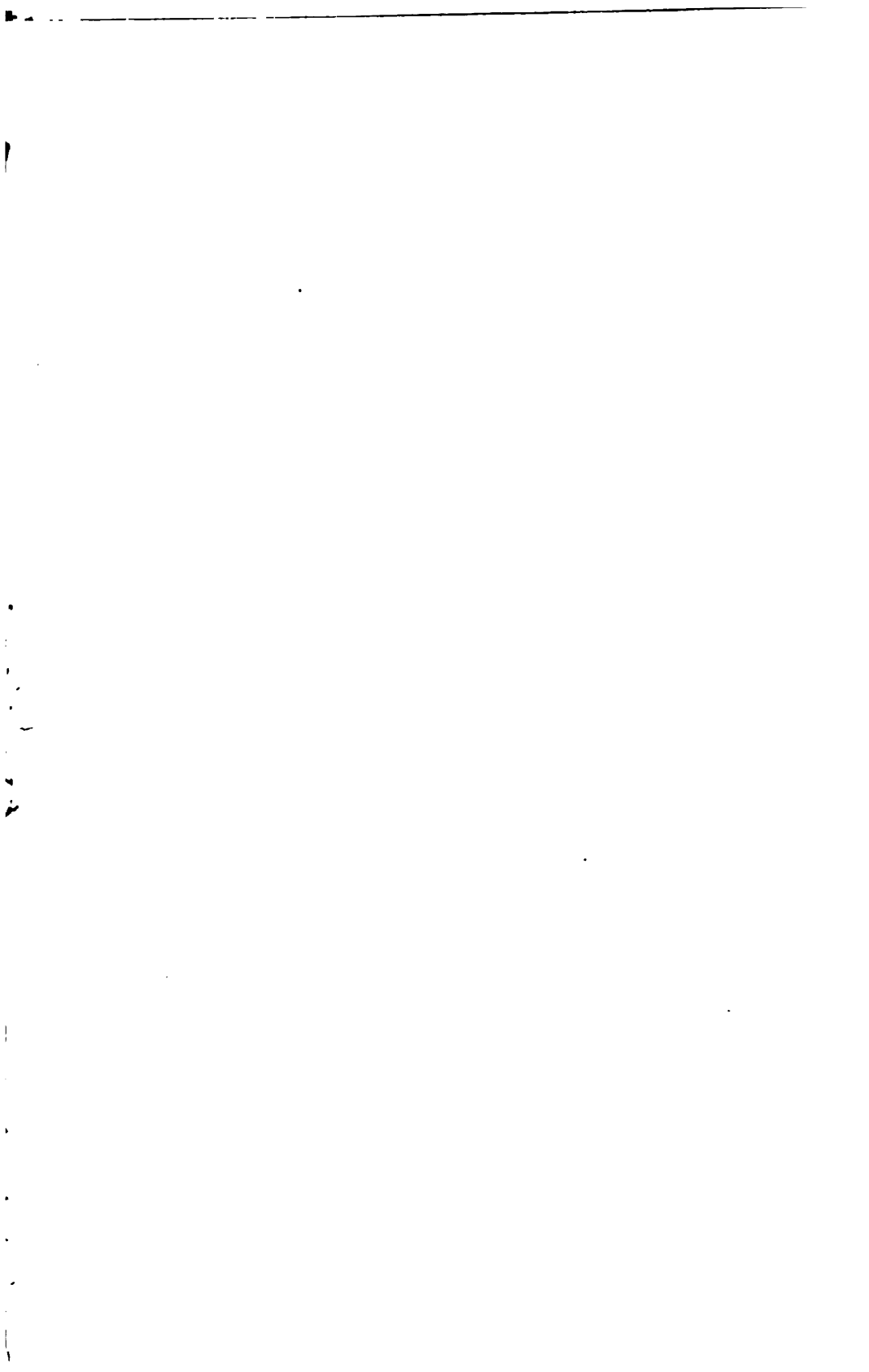
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